The University of Chicago

THE ROLE OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN THE ACCOMMODATION OF A SECT

A Part Of A Dissertation Submitted To The Faculty Of The Divinity School In Candidacy For The Degree Of Doctor Of Philosophy

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FOREWORD

There was a time when education was conceived as something apart from the general run of life. The scholar secluded himself and dealt with ideas uncontaminated by practical matters. Religious education was concerned with pure doctrines and sacraments that could be considered apart from temporal affairs. Those days have been passing. More and more we are coming to understand that the person is developed through all he experiences in life situations, whether in the church, the public school, the family, the place of business, on the street, the playground, or in chance contacts. We are seeing, too, that the church is not isolated nor insulated from whatever is going on about it. It is a part of the social order, both affecting and being affected by what takes place there. Since a program of religious education has such an interacting relationship, its directors must see clearly what this is and what it should be.

The study must be a continuous one. Since society is always evolving and since the relationship of the religious group to the larger social order is ever changing, religious educators must be alert and adaptive. To see permanent values in a changing society is not always easy. Whenever a system loses this sense of interpretation and function, it ceases to be effective.

This monograph is an outgrowth of ten years of study on this changing relationship between the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints and its environing society. The church is going through a transitional period, more basic than the casual observer sees. The vitality and effectiveness of its future depend to a large extent upon the clarity with which this relationship is seen and the soundness with which its program is charted in accordance with this insight. A study of this kind calls for intellectual honesty, breadth of view, and insight into the church's essential mission in a changing world order. It is hoped that this abbreviated treatment may assist in building the foundation for a program of religious education.

ROY A. CHEVILLE.

CHAPTER ONE

The Sect and the Social Order

The sect is a unique form of social group. It is unfortunate that many think of the term with a dark brown taste. To these it seems to denote something with which society would be glad to dispense, something odd and outlandish. In some cases this is true. The student of social science uses the term, however, not to brand or condemn, but to describe. Used in this sense, it means a conflict group that speaks out against prevailing patterns and policies, that breaks with conventions. It may designate a political offshoot or a religious breakoff. Generally, it refers to the latter. The Latter Day Saint looks at his own group and recognizes that it began as this sort of a conflict body.

Sects come and go. They rise out of some untoward social situation and speak out boldly against the contemporary order or against some phase of it. This usually involves some form of isolation. This may be either cause or result. That is, it may set itself to achieve isolation to protect what it believes it possesses, or it may experience it because society builds a wall against it. Sometimes it sets up practices and beliefs that will maintain a certain separateness. A distinct garb may do this. At times it seeks a territorial isolation. The Amana colony attempted this; the Utah pioneers sought it. If the sect is unusually vigorous in its earliest days and if it shows up as highly opposed to the prevailing order of things persecution is likely to arise. It was so with the Quakers in colonial America. The group may thrive on a certain amount of hostility.

A Summary of Characteristics of the Sect

1. It is a conflict group that rises in opposition to current institutionalized religion and mores.
2. It is exclusive and rigoristic, admitting only those who accept its peculiar tenets and practices.
3. It emphasizes the place of experience in individual and group religious life.
4. It is voluntarily united by common bonds of feeling and faith and ideals.

5. It has its genesis in situations of social disaffection and dissatisfaction.

6. It is homogeneous and is limited in size by possibility of maintaining this homogeneity.

7. Its grounds of loyalty are spontaneous and are nurtured by conflict relations to the larger social order.

8. It affirms divine origin with compulsion of revelation and of assigned mission to the world.

The story of modern Christianity is full of the dramatic rise and disappearance of sects. Methodism arose as a conflict group and gradually found its place with approved standing. The Shakers came out to assert their message and to denounce their contemporaries; now they are falling out of the picture. Jehovah's Witnesses still proclaim a conflict gospel. Sociologically speaking, Latter Day Saintism began as a sect in all its features.

The Sect and Accommodation

Accommodation is a term used to designate the transitional process that goes on when the conflict relation gives way to adjustment. It indicates what goes on when an individual or group evolves from a state of hostile relationship to a state of equilibrium in which there can be life with some degree of getting along with those with whom there was formerly antagonism. It is a way of getting along together. This shift is conditioned by changes of attitude in both the small group and the larger social order. Any change in the sect itself brings about development in thinking and feeling toward the group. In accommodation conflict disappears as overt action, but it may remain latent as a potential force. Only with assimilation would the latent antagonism be wholly dissolved.

In-Group Changes

Generally speaking, the conflict aspects of the sect do not go on interminably. In modern life with its pickup in social mobility, it is difficult for a conflict group to retain an isolated, autonomous status. It is not easy to maintain a unitary consensus as members move in and out among many kinds of groups. The group that builds up walls of its own against interaction with outside forces places itself in danger of nonsurvival in a world of pronounced interdependence. In the long run, hostile elements tend to be regulated. Rivalry may continue without conflict.

Here are some of the developments that may be expected within a sect as it moves in the direction of accommodation relationships:

1. It will become concerned in programs of social improvement and work toward amelioration of the social order. Often in the first stages, the world is too evil for any widespread regeneration. The group becomes considered in formulation of social programs and it, in turn, considers the social order as it draws up its procedures.

2. Members come to live in more socially approved conditions of culture and economics. Many a sect has got its footing among the "religiously neglected poor." Then, if there is a strict code of conduct, the discipline of the new religion may cause the members to rise to economic well-being and cultural respectibility. Then history may repeat itself. The now prosperous may seem to neglect the poor and with this neglect may come the need for new reform movements.

3. A change takes place in the quality of the fervor of the sect. At first it is often militant and outspoken, often blatant in its expression. The enthusiasm may become less revolutionary. The earliest reformer has in his mind, "What does God think?"; the later leader often considers, "What will the neighbors say?" This change in emotional life is shown in the Methodist movement. The Bristol revival was objectionable to onlookers for what they considered emotional extravagance. They felt that "free grace" should not have such free expression. In time this enthusiasm declined, and the movement became more restrained.

4. Absoluteness is toned down. "I know" is common in the sectarian phraseology. It is not an abstract creed and a conventional ritual that holds the believer. There is a directness and an immediacy that lead to certitude. As time goes on two major factors affect this situation: the development of reflective thinking within the group and interaction with others that call for interpretation of beliefs and practices in light of their concepts. Absoluteness may give way to relativity.

5. The conception of revelation evolves. In the history of sects is found an unconditional faith in a divine revealment. By insight into the scriptures, by vision, by dream, by the voice of the Spirit of God, there has come the disclosure of the divine will to some prophet or apostle. As the years pass, it is easy to put all this in the past tense as a heritage. There is likely to be a more critical treatment of the message of illumination and of the experience itself.

The Second Generation

The pioneers who form the sect choose to belong to it. The first generation wins its convictions painfully and holds them often at bitter cost. Experience is fresh and immediate. But what of those born into the movement? If the conflict relations continue and the group remains small they, too, will catch the sectarian spirit. If numbers increase, social status is improved, and outside relationships show less tension, the new generation may hold its convictions as a heritage and may even take its membership in the group for granted.

When the sect comes to some *modus vivendi* with its environment so that conflict is resolved, the future of the group is full of uncertainty. The bonds of allegiance which held members in former days may be inadequate for the new situation, or even impossible of cultivation. Much of the external pressure and internal spontaneity may be gone. The sense of mission may be less clear. Well may the sect inquire what is going to happen to it when external compulsions which forced it together begin to disappear. Then may its interpreters ask whether there are sufficient internal cohesive forces to hold the movement together. It is quite likely that most sects go on quite unaware of what is taking place. In a general way, there are three possibilities of procedure:

1. Continuation as a conflict minority, cultivating such features as will promote separateness.

2. Existence as an accommodated group, retaining features that are distinctive and developing new bases of allegiance.

3. Loss of identity with mergence into the general socio-religious life.

The Social Function of the Sect

The sect has done more than give color and variety to American religious life. It has been the protest expression of those who have been unsatisfied with the prevailing order. Nowhere but in an imaginary celestial realm, void of personal drives and social strains could there be absence of conditions out of which they spring. A totalitarian order would nip them in the bud before they got under way. In spite of excesses, confusions, and hostilities, the sect fulfills certain functions. Ernest Troeltsch has made this observation about these groups:

"The really creative, church-forming, religious movements are the work of the lower strata. . . . All great community building

revelations have come forth again and again out of such circles, and the significance and power for further development in such religious movements have always been dependent upon the force of the original impetus given in such naive revelations as well as the energy of the conviction which made this impetus absolute and divine. . . . The various manifestations of the secretarian spirit . . . have called back the church from its accommodation to existing social customs and conditions and have been more important in the indirect influence which they have exercised in this way than in the effectiveness of their own organizations. They have provided, in the second place, for the rejection of the religious sanctions of social customs which had become onerous and thus have paved the way for radical reforms. Finally, the sects have emphasized individual conviction in religion and ethics and have offered a counterbalance to the system of collective dogma and authority."[1]

There is something to be said for diversity as against a unity and homogeneity that come from overhead manipulation rather than from a consensus that rises from general interaction. The freedom of expression, the inclination to speak out, the resistance to what is considered unsatisfying, are features of the sect that the social order does not want to lose. The tendency of the social process is to fall into patterns of behavior. This gives stability and orderliness and a certain efficiency. Left alone, however, these tend toward fixedness and eventual stagnation. Against this come fresh upthrusts of impulses to stir up religion against self-complacency and acquiescent accommodation with its environment. A continuous watching against this tendency might go far toward providing a social order that would take care of the unsatisfied wants out of which sects arise.

This does not mean that one should give approval to every sectarian group that springs up. Many appear bizarre and uncalled for. One may respect the sincerity and zeal and fidelity to what is considered true and worthful by a given group without accepting the tenets and forms to which their loyalty clings. It is often the case that many extravagances within the sect are induced by the attitude of the out-group. Much fanaticism is induced by policies of persecution. An understanding of the nature of the sect and of the situations that give rise to its emergence would go far toward keeping down barriers between it and the prevailing order.

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1. R. H. Niebuhr, *Social Sources of Denominationalism,* New York. Henry Holt and Co., 1929, page 29.

The Sect as Remnant

Rufus Jones has set forth an interpretation of "the remnant" which has considerable significance. He sees the movement of humanity carried forward by small groups who set themselves apart from the accepted order of things. It is not suggested that all groups who set themselves apart are to be considered remnants of social worth. Many visionary and zealot groups have been led by delusions and have not kept to the path of progress for humanity. It is not always easy to discriminate between the sound remnant and the disordered one. The test of worth comes in the returns to the total society.

"The little group, organized and fused by its leader and *possessed* by its *live* idea, becomes a kind of social laboratory for testing the value of the 'truth' that has dawned upon them. This truth is likely to be overstated and to raise the little band of advocates to the white-hot state, but if it is some really constructive discovery which the world needs, it will prove its worth in the original circle and will slowly gather significance and meaning through successive interpretations and through the corporate life which it produces and maintains in the group. . . . A remnant has not performed its legitimate service if it does not mature and ripen its *idea* and finally carry it into the life of the wider circle out of which it came."[2]

With the passing of years the remnant undergoes change. It experiences a collision with old standards and authorities. This contrast, this conflict, this continuous choosing make for sifting and sorting within and without the group. Some features which once seemed important and even vital may be suppressed or drop out with disuse. Then the group may merge into the general society or may experience a rebirth and continue its creative work.

The Sect and Education

One of the marks of transition from the conflict to the accommodation relationship in the life of the sect is the emergence of religious education. Such a program may be interpreted as both causing and caused. In either case it may be taken as an indicator of the group's social relationship and of its conception of this relationship. Sometimes the program lags, some-

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2. Rufus Jones, *The Remnant.* London; Swarthmore Press, 1920, page 13.

times it leads. Sometimes it creates, sometimes it just carries on. A complex of motives may enter in, but these will likely be found: (1) To maintain the self-respect of the group, as it becomes status-conscious; (2) to develop the membership to meet the world adequately, whether to proselytize or to meet competition for existence; and (3) to retain the natural increase of the group. Some bodies build their educational program to train initiates into their fellowship.

The educational program of a group is highly indicative concerning its conception of its role in society. While the fact that there is a program of religious education indicates an emergence from the first sectarian stages, it is the *kind* of program that tells most. It may be reactionary and transmissive, blind to what is going on around the group. In this case there develops a curriculum lag with a breach between life and learning. It may follow a course of social drift without educational goals. It may ape outside patterns with eventual loss of group identity. Or it may re-examine its fundamental values and chart its educational course for a changing social relationship. In this latter case the educational field may be a place of tension as conservative and creative schools of thinking meet. If it goes too far on either side, it will alienate some of the membership. In a sense, then, the program of education ought to play a dual co-ordinating role, both in intragroup and extra-group relationships.

CHAPTER TWO

The Sectarian Rise of Latter Day Saintism

The Latter Day Saint movement did not rise out of a social vacuum. A complex of factors supplied the occasion for its appearance and helped to determine the form it was to take. It rose in a period of restlessness and unsatisfiedness, called by W. W. Sweet "the restless thirties and forties." The country was experiencing a kind of early adolescence. The West offered a field for adventure and a haven from untoward economic conditions. The West broke with conventions, asserted independence, and breathed an air of confidence in whatever venture it took up. Certain features of this setting should be noted with respect to the shaping up of the movement.

1. The period saw an epidemic of controversy. There were rifts and schisms aplenty. The interstitial area between the East and the West was particularly fruitful in controversies, revivals, and new movements. In this area was western New York, called the "burnt-over district" because of the waves of revival that swept the region, one after another.

2. Diversity was in the air. The old theological unity of the eighteenth century was breaking up. The orthodox clergy that had so long held a place of rulership in society was disturbed by the rise of new sects, but there was little they could do about it. Latter Day Saints faced a diversified religious world with no one voice in dominance.

3. It was a Bible-minded world in which Latter Day Saintism was born. The Bible was accepted as authoritative and interpreted with literalness. The Baptist frontier preacher, John Taylor, voiced this viewpoint when he wrote of the Bible, "What I saw in this heaven-born book, I received as the voice of God to me, and was the invaluable guide of my whole man, both in motives and actions."

4. Millenarianism abounded in the twenties and thirties. It was closely associated with the literal interpretation of the Bible. The more dramatic advocates pictured a reign of Christ as literal

as his early ministry and some preached its imminence. Of this latter type Millerism is best known.

5. Restorationism was preached. This view advocated the existence of a pure, primitive Christianity that had been perverted through the centuries. Restorationists longed for a bringing back of this first order of things. Those who advocated this viewpoint studied the Scriptures assiduously. Here would be found the pattern of procedure. Alexander Campbell was one of the best known of this school of thinking.

6. In the twenties and thirties the Indians were a common topic of conversation. In western New York the attitude was quite different from that of the extreme frontier where Indian wars and fears still abounded. A writer of the times reflected thus about some Indian mounds.

"While musing on this gloomy pile of art, such serious inquiries occupied my mind: When was this fortification built? Whose hands raised these walls? Why are we denied a clew to their history?"[1]

7. There was a faith and optimism in the future of America. Divine Providence was believed to have a special interest in the career of the Nation. W. W. Sweet comments that "It was long the custom of Protestant ministers in the United States to speak of the discovery and colonization of North America as a providential event."[2]

8. It was a period of reform theories and reform movements. Some of these were community attempts, such as those of the Shakers and Harmonists. The socio-economic problem stared the new church in the face in its infancy.

9. Frontier preaching flourished, a kind of preaching indigenous to America. Robert Baird listed as outstanding characteristics of the preaching of the times as these: simplicity, earnestness, doctrinal content, emphasis upon immediate reconciliation with God, stress of the work of the Spirit. The frontier folk would add a generous dose of democratic directness and ability to mingle with the people. Formality and use of notes were generally banned. The frontier developed a dislike for "paid" preachers. Lay leadership was prevalent in the western country.

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1. Charles Giles, *Charles Giles, Pioneer.* New York; Lane and Sanford, page 108.
2. W. W. Sweet, *The Story of Religion in America.* New York; Harper and Brothers, 1939, page 11.

In some places the term "reverend" was dropped since it smirked of ecclesiasticism. Academic learning was mistrusted in some quarters.

10. There was a respect for authority. This seems paradoxical to the frontier democracy and individualism, but somehow the two existed side by side. Garrison has said that the frontiersman "was an individualist, up to a certain point, and then he became a thorough authoritarian." He loved his freedom, but he would cling to something that sanctioned his conceptions of authority. So new religions that sprang up built up backings of authority of one kind or another. The Latter Day Saints did not go halfway: they came out openly and said that God had given them authority that was current and direct.

Latter Day Saints preached a message and a program that spoke to these yearnings and interests. It promised hope through divine intervention, offered warmth through the coming of the "gifts," gave assurance through contemporary visitation of authority, and held out economic relief and fraternity in a community of the faithful. All this would flourish in those regions where men were out of touch and out of sympathy with the established churches and the conventional ministry. And so Latter Day Saintism grew.

Early Bases of Group Allegiance

Students of a movement inquire what holds it together. If a sect is bonded together by hope of an immediately expected utopia, delay in its coming may be disastrous to morale, or it may bring about adjustments in beliefs and anticipations. If it is solidified by hostile treatment from outside, the coming of friendly relationships will call for new bonds, if the movement is to endure. If the patterns of thinking, naive and uncritical come next to scientific conceptions with free intercourse, the old foundations of sectarian faith may be shaken. If the movement is colored by contemporary conditions in its genesis, change of these conditions may be expected to affect the appeals and the interpretations of what is considered fundamental.

The early Latter Day Saints built their loyalties around rather specific items. They were attached to rather concrete persons, programs, places, experiences. It was no far-away idealism, no intangible spiritual hope that focused their allegiance. It was a present-tense religion, a contemporary program, a flesh and blood prophet that centered their interest and devotion. Literature

of the times reveal the following as basic in the building of allegiance.

1. Joseph Smith, as Prophet. Contemporaries who disagreed with his views wondered about the magnetic power he exerted. The church program was a dynamic one with the Prophet always somewhere in the center. He was always before the people. Wherever he lived, the Saints gathered about. When there was hostility, he was the butt of mob action. When a problem arose, he was the oracle of God. His assassination in 1844 gave him the rank of martyr. Most interpreters of sect phenomena emphasize the essential role of the hero-prophet in getting the group under way. It is he who catches up with enthusiasm and conviction the essentials of the protest movement.

2. The *Book of Mormon.* This became the symbol of the new movement. From it came the nickname for believers. It caught up powerful attitudes, ranging from derision and opposition to curiosity and wonder. A well-placed name is effective in marking off a group from the outside and solidifying it on the inside. There does not seem to be evidence that the group resisted the name. Believers capitalized on the uniqueness of the book in their work of proselyting and publicizing. It caught up their choice beliefs in present-day revelation, restoration of ancient forms, the mission of America, and the place of the Indian in God's world plan.

3. Zion. This was not an other-worldly holy city, not an imaginary fellowship of believers. It was a community of the converted with a definite geographical center. Here there would be escape from judgments soon to come upon the world; here they would live in brotherhood and righteousness, awaiting the second coming of Christ. The migration to Independence, Missouri, began in 1831. Two years later the residents rose up and drove the Latter Day Saints out of the county. At the time the Missouri community was declining, one at Kirtland, Ohio, was rising. The panic and hard times of 1837 brought about its disintegration. The next year saw the rapid growth of a community at Far West, Caldwell County, Missouri. In late fall, 1838, the Missourians rose and expelled the church members from the state. From 1839 to 1844, Nauvoo, Illinois, flourished as the Latter Day Saint mecca. Again came hostility, dissension, and eventual dispersion. Through all these frustrations the people held to the conviction of eventual realization of the building of Zion.

The zionic program had several appeals. There was the mil-

lenarian, eschatological feature for some. The immediacy of migration with anticipation of economic betterment attracted others. A neighborhood of friendly believers must have allured in a day when frontier life had so much of isolation and drabness. The hostility of "Gentiles" would make Latter Day Saints long for a community of believers.

4. The Gifts of the Spirit. These "gifts" included healing, prophecy, tongues, and the like, gifts that were considered as having scriptural support. They gave attractiveness and assurance. They were interpreted as evidence of the divinity of the movement.

5. Signs of the Times. In these were reminders and warnings and supports. They involved wonders of many sorts—astronomical and geological phenomena, and trends and disturbances in the social world. To believers these signs substantiated their faith that they were living in the last days, that the Restoration Movement had been duly inaugurated, and God was moving toward the "consummation of all things."

6. An Authorized Priesthood. This commitment of ministerial authority was no vague imagination—it was concrete. God had spoken at a definite time, in a specific way, to a known person, and the experience was continuing. Theirs was not another "reformation" movement: it was a "restoration." Furthermore the church possessed all the officers they believed the New Testament church included.

7. The Out-Group Hostility. The line between the "Saints" and the "Gentiles" was sharply drawn. The animosity on every side forced the believers together in compactness and mutual support. Persecution and misfortune heightened the solidarity and the self-consciousness of the sect. Persecution came to be interpreted as an evidence of the divine foundation of the movement. Such had always been the lot of the faithful.

8. The Spread and Growth of the Movement. Consciousness of success is a powerful force for allegiance. Consciousness of expansion helped over many a setback. For instance, reports of baptisms in the British mission tided over the collapse of Kirtland. No one questions that the movement grew in numbers and in public awareness during the first decade and a half. The pragmatic test "It works" held up with reference to increase.

A comparative study of Latter Day Saintism in 1832 and in 1942 must examine the bases and qualities of allegiance in these

two periods. It must seek to discover to what extent the social conditions out of which the movement emerged and in which it flourished are still operative. It must make inquiry concerning changes in the relationship of the group to the social order. All this is part of examination of the adequacy of bonds of loyalty and bases of allegiance for present day conditions.

The Persistence of Conflict Relations

Unless new provocative situations arise a sect group comes to a state of equilibrium with society. The process of conflict gives way to accommodation. This was not the story of Latter Day Saints. The first opportunity to achieve settled relationships was at Nauvoo. Here they found their longest period in one location. The promise of effecting working adjustments with the surrounding Illinois communities never materialized, and after the first years the conflict started all over again. Several sources of difficulty promoted this continued state of tension:

1. The political situation with two major parties vying for the Latter Day Saint vote. From this competition came the granting by the Illinois legislature in 1840 of a charter of such liberality and assignment of powers that Nauvoo seemed to become a state within a state. Reaction was inevitable, for the early friendliness was not that of evolved accommodation and had no foundation for permanence. Failure of either party to get a commitment of the Mormon vote brought a shift toward open animosity.

2. The organization of a city militia heightened the non-Mormon fears. There was nothing unusual in providing for a municipal guard, but the proportions to which it grew came to be a cause for alarm. This military development indicates a change in the thinking of the group. Now they were going to use pistols as well as prayer.

3. The mushroom growth of Nauvoo was disconcerting to the unfriendly. The Latter Day Saints threatened to take the country. The constant coming of converts from Europe and parts of the United States kept up an increase in population, until Nauvoo was the largest city in that section of the country.

The Missouri anti-Mormon spirit carried over and combined with these newer situations to bring the latent conflict forces into open expression. The self-sufficiency program of the community permitted few interpenetrations with other social units for promotion of understanding and friendly interaction. The Lat-

ter Day Saints spoke out in denunciation of contemporary political leaders, proclaimed judgments upon the world, and pointed out portents of millenarian imminence, while they continued to interpret their group prosperity as evidence of divine favor.

Trends from Earliest Sect Spirit

Along a few lines the Latter Day Saints were moving from the spontaneity and simplicity of the first days. The larger size of the group, the increase through those born into the movement, the apparent permanence of location, and the general sense of expansion were doing something to the sect's conception of itself and its place. The following stand out:

1. The development of an epitome of faith and the growth of church-approved literature. In the earliest days ministers and members had used the *Book of Mormon* alongside the Bible as they had told their story. In 1835 the first collection of revelations was approved as the *Doctrine and Covenants.* In 1843 in response to the request of a Chicago publisher, Joseph Smith wrote a summary of the beliefs of the Latter Day Saints. It was called an epitome, rather than a creed. The growth of such literature marks a trend toward crystallization of thinking and a reference for orthodoxy.

2. The promotion of educational endeavors of both religious and secular nature.

3. The conducting of meetings for hundreds and even thousands. The old intimacies of the small congregation were less evident. Business meetings involved little more than assent-giving on the part of the congregation.

4. Emergence of a ministry who came to receive priestly recognition and support. The plat of Nauvoo shows a concentration of church officials in one part of the city, as if this section were the status-recognizing portion of the community. There grew up a centralization of control in church and civic management.

After the first few years, a new sectarian tendency appeared in Nauvoo that is hard to explain. It included eschatological, ecclesiastical, and sacramental features and was linked with the growing interest in temple construction. The Nauvoo Temple, begun in 1841, was connected with this other-worldly interest, quite in contrast with the simple utilization of the Kirtland Temple, dedicated in 1836. This new development heightened the sectarian spirit and widened the breach between the Latter

Day Saints and their contemporaries. Yet somehow it expressed an institutionalism not found in the earliest days.

Frustration of Early Educational Programs

The Latter Day Saints were not permitted to stay in one place long enough to work out a system of schooling. By successive expulsions and migrations, anticipated programs were thwarted and left unrealized. We can only conjecture what would have happened if such had happened. Education changes the tone of the life of a group and affects their out-group relations.

Educational development was a part of the Latter Day Saint planning. The first issue of *The Evening and Morning Star,* first publication of the church, in 1832, had spoken out for common schools for the children of the new community. At Kirtland a school for the ministers had been conducted in the winter of 1833 and after. Nauvoo gave promise with its charter for a municipal university and a unified system of schools from the elementary grades through the college. There was to be city supervision, certification of teachers, and uniform textbooks. But the Nauvoo experiment was cut short. In 1844 the storm broke. By 1846 the curtain was running down on "the old church."

CHAPTER THREE

The Transition Toward Accommodation in the Reorganization

The Reorganization began with a two-way conflict. One was a continuation of the out-group hostility of former years. The other involved factions that sprang up within Latter Day Saintism after the death of the leader of the movement in 1844. Of these the conflict relations with the group that went westward under the leadership of Brigham Young were especially intense.

The Rise of the Reorganization

One of the groups that emerged from those who stayed behind and discredited the western movement was "The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints," which for brevity's sake we call the "Reorganization." Those who came to constitute this movement considered that those who led the migration to the West had usurped authority through irregular legislation and most of all without divine designation of those who should occupy places of leadership.

Some of the small congregations in southern Wisconsin had gone on their regular course after 1844. Naturally they became perturbed as to what should be considered the main body of the church of which they were to be a part. Two elders asserted separately that revelations came to them advising them to denounce all pretenders and look for the eventual coming of the young Joseph Smith to take his father's place. In 1853 the group was organized under the administrative leadership of apostles. In 1860 the son of the former leader came to the group and was accepted as prophet-president. The center of activity shifted to Illinois, and in the eighties to southern Iowa.

The Reorganization was both small and scattered. It did not turn to "gathering" nor to social withdrawal. It had to develop a cohesion, a self-consciousness, an articulate voice. It was a sect without geographical isolation.

The young Reorganization made much of the bonds that would hold it together as a group. It had inherited cohesive forces: a body of literature, a name, a history of persecution, a tradition of authority, and rituals. Other Latter Day Saint groups had these, so it needed additional ones. These three were especially significant:

1. The coming to leadership of "Young Joseph," making possible the doctrine of "lineal priesthood" and the affirmation of continuation of the early church through this body.

2. The re-expression of the "gifts and blessings" which had been present in the early church. This gave evidence of divine approval and supplied vitality to the venture.

3. The recognition of the Utah group as a common enemy. Members leveled their debate, their preaching, their press, their conversation against the church in Utah. They mustered all the devices at their disposal to publicize their apartness from the western group and to denounce its teachings and practices. Another statement was added to the Epitome of Faith arraigning the doctrine of plurality of wives.

Members of the early Reorganization were quite conscious that they belonged to an unpopular group. Those who feared a social stigma were not likely to join the movement. Debating and deflating opponents were common methods of those first years. The Reorganization arose and survived as a conflict group, a sect.

Early Steps Toward Accommodation

The Reorganization followed a course that was more conducive to amicable relations with the outside world. Much of the quick-on-the-trigger spirit of the frontier days was passing, but there was still enough to bring on egging of preachers and chasing them out of schoolhouses. Then, too, the group was too small to incite much suspicion or antagonism. In the group itself, at least three elements were influential in promoting a less tense relationship:

1. The delay in gathering into one community;

2. The insistence on members living honorably in their several communities;

3. The temperate and tolerant policy of the new leader, Joseph Smith III.

Another factor of some consequence was the shift of the movement to northern Illinois with leaders coming from a stable agricultural class of good repute. Had there been a rushing together of zealots under a fiery leadership, the story of earlier settlements might have been repeated.

As soon as Joseph Smith III came to the church in 1860, inquiries about gathering were heard. The first general epistle of the new president stated a policy of considerable significance. From this document of November, 1860, are found these statements:

"There are many obstacles to be met with by us, and which are to be overcome, not the least of which is the prejudice of those, who, most unfortunately for us, judge of us from very bad specimens of men, who either were, or are, or claim to be of the so-called Mormon faith. Another difficulty, and one of considerable importance, is the gathering together hastily in so large a body, that being incapable of harmonizing and assimilating the one with the other, so as to form a complete whole, it totters, and falls of its own concentrate weight. . . . To me there is no command to gather this people together at any given locality. . . . All who are seeking truth . . . will quietly settle themselves in some region of country where truth is acknowledged, where they can serve God, and be good to their fellow men."[1]

When steps were taken toward community building, the procedure was measured and simple. The policy of diffusion had quieted popular attitudes. The effective gesture was made by a small group of men of means, mostly farmers who organized with church consent as the "Order of Enoch." This was in 1870. After considerable investigation they selected a location in southern Iowa, in Decatur County, not far from the Missouri line. By 1879 the community was getting under way. This settlement, called Lamoni, was never looked upon as the eventual center: Independence, Missouri, was still that goal.

Even while Lamoni was getting started, there was a slow infiltration of Latter Day Saints into the Independence territory. They came as individuals or as families, not as any mass movement. The head of the church counseled them to go quietly and follow the old maxim, "Mind your own business." In 1882 a General Conference was held there, the first since 1833.

The relations of the church with the Government had been touchy most of the time. The Reorganization began with this unpromising background. Joseph Smith III in the years before he became President of the church had studied some law and had held civic offices at Nauvoo. He came with constructive attitudes toward political and community life. Certain incidents happened that furthered a good feeling with the Federal Government.

1. The anti-slavery attitude and loyalty toward the Federal Government during the Civil War.

2. The lining up with Congress when the territory of Utah applied for admission to the Union, with the Reorganization coming out decidedly against polygamy and other practices.

3. The decision of the courts in cases of title to property of

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1. Joseph Smith, "An Address to the Saints," *L. D. S. History*, volume III, pages 254-6.

the old church, in which the Reorganization was recognized as legal successor, the Kirtland Temple case of 1890 and the Temple Lot (Independence, Missouri), 1894. To the Reorganization this meant vindication, recognition, and assurance of a kindlier future.

The Emergence of an Educational Program

The earliest period of the life of a sect does not, as a rule, devote much attention to development of an educational program. Such was the case with early Christianity. When a sect that has been interested in getting converts sets itself to training its members in some educational program, that group is emerging out of its first stages of sectarian existence. After this first stage, when members are born into it, the group has to look to the grounding of the second generation. It turns toward the training of its ministry.

The young Reorganization faced the educational question very soon, for it already had a "second generation." On one side were these forces pushing toward some sort of educational program: (1) the inherited tradition of educational responsibility, (2) the presence of children and young people in the movement, (3) the need for grounding the members in the unique features of the group, and (4) a body of rites and reading material carried over from the old church. On the other side were these forces operating against such educational developments: (1) the scattered condition of the membership, (2) the lack of means in money and man power, (3) the pressing demands for identification, recall of old members, and means for survival, and (4) the disappointing picture of earlier attempts. Some believers attributed the downfall of earlier church endeavors to undue reliance upon education rather than upon revelation.

The agencies for education sponsored by the group followed pretty closely the list common to contemporary religious bodies: (1) periodicals, beginning with *The True Latter Day Saints' Herald,* 1860; (2) the ministry of exponents of education, headed in Joseph Smith III; (3) the Sunday school, gathered into a general organization in 1891; (4) the "Zion's Religio Literary Society," a young people's organization, established 1893; and (5) Graceland College, opened in 1895. These agencies and organizations were not peculiar to Latter Day Saints: they were borrowed from the general religious world and adapted to the needs of Latter Day Saints. This in itself was a form of accommodation.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Decline in Group Homogeneity

A group is considered homogeneous when it consists of the same general nature throughout. A sect in its earlier days exhibits this general quality. As it becomes larger and reaches out into more social backgrounds, this primitive homogeneity begins to be dispelled. At this point the group may pursue one of three lines of action. (1) It may develop an authoritarian education with some compulsion toward one approved system. The Roman Catholic Church represents one form of this type, the Christian Science movement another. (2) It may turn to renewed emphasis on the earlier type of group experience which would recultivate a spiritual homogeneity. Or, (3) it may accept the fact of diversity and attempt to evolve a system of education that achieves a working unity through common deliberation and free interaction. Combination of these is possible.

Recent decades show a drift from the earlier homogeneity of the Reorganized Latter Day Saints of the sixties, seventies, and eighties. The smaller congregational groups of those years was predominantly agricultural with intimate congregational relationships. In this evolution, religious education has operated both ways. More recently, the group, recognizing the growing diversity, has been seeking a type of education that would promote group solidarity and unity.

Certain fields indicate this growing diversity and increase in cultural breadth. This development is part of the trend that has been going on in general society.

1. The Scope of the Press. Latter Day Saints read about more things than they used to do. The first issues of the *True Latter Day Saints' Herald* held to a few major topics. Examination of the issues for the first five years show these three fields far in the lead: Utah Mormonism with reference to polygamy and related considerations, priesthood, with emphasis on lineal descent, and the *Book of Mormon.* The return of the Jews and the second coming of Christ were fairly prominent. A tabulation of inches by five-year periods shows the decline and the appearance of interests. In contrast, take a period just before or just after 1930. Now there are materials on social problems, stewardship, education, youth interests, music, health, literature, current events, etc. In other words Latter Day Saints were

talking and thinking about more things than formerly. A sect thrives best as such when it has a few distinctive topics and employs them with emotional fervor, when it builds up a stock of phrases with sentimental attachment.

2. The Rise of Diversified Leadership. This does not mean the rise of internal strife, but an extension of participation so that lone leadership does not thrive. The early church had centered about Joseph Smith, and the Reorganization emphasized the position of "the seed of Joseph." Since 1915, when F. M. Smith succeeded his father as leader, certain clashes between the president-prophet in particular and other officials have affected the conceptions of leadership. These strains have had to do with questions of financial policy, control of publishing interests, and other prerogatives in administrative control. The church is still ecclesiastically governed with a hierarchy that heads in the prophet-president. There are, however, several other centers of educational influence and social control. Since the Depression, the Bishops have exerted marked influence through their direction of financial matters. The Apostles have furthered instruction in missionary methods and message. These have worked conjointly with educational agencies. Today's educational leadership is not one, but many.

3. The Decline in Formulated Definition. When the Reorganization was small and general meetings were frequent, it was easier for the group to draw up definite statements about issues and beliefs. It was quite possible and very common for the ministers and members to affirm "The church says . . ." There has grown a recognition that it is harder to lay down a single policy for a group so widely spread in geography and social relationships. It is not infrequent, however, to hear a longing for this single voice of the church, speaking with *ex cathedra* sureness.

The Latter Day Saint of today is including more and more elements and processes in his universe. Zion has drawn in so many social, economic, political, cultural factors that it is harder to speak with definiteness than in the outlook of 1831, with the picture of a simple, agricultural community. Some could explain the hard times of the dust bowl as due to "sin" and leave it there, but this was not enough for those who knew something about agronomy and atmospheric conditions. Generally speaking, the more extended the range of experience and the consequent increase in number of factors called in to consider a proposition, the slower the expression of dogmatism. The sense of multiple causation is hard on the simple sectarian spirit.

4. Diversification in Vocational Life. The church of 1853 was an agricultural one. Its first leaders were sons of the soil. Of late, however, growth has gone on rapidly in urban areas. Studies by F. H. Edwards have set this forth. In 1920, 17.4 per cent of the membership lived in communities with a population over 100,000, while in 1940 this increased to 20 per cent. In 1920, 48.5 per cent lived in communities with a population less than 3,000; in 1940 this had dwindled to 27.1 per cent. The income of the group no longer comes from the farm alone. The dream of Zion can no longer be imagined in terms of only agriculture. Communities such as the Shakers and the Amana colony began as farming experiments. They have hardly survived in a larger social order. This transformation away from vocational homogeneity carries implications for a program of religious education.

5. The Approach to Morals. A comparatively small sect with a modicum of interaction with its neighbors can have a fairly definite code of morals with an authoritarian approach. As numbers increase and as free social interaction is extended, this approach may undergo strains. The early Reorganization spoke out specifically against the theater, card playing, dancing, etc. There were arguments about mixed bathing, motion pictures, and recreation on Sunday after the turn of the century. There was a sharp distinction between the approved and the unapproved. One school would rely on the passage of General Conference enactments. Another sees it impossible to classify all social situations in fixed categories, especially in a changing social order. A resolution passed by the General Conference of 1934 is an historic document. In place of listing banned amusements, it called for leaders to direct and train for "more creative educational and spiritual use of leisure" and asked for development of "creative interests and abilities which will lead to the realization of ideas of the church in the daily lives of its members." Training in discrimination and self-control has received increased attention. Educational materials have looked toward experience in problem solving. Less and less has the church been interpreted as a lawgiver and more and more as a fellowship for charting life together. While both viewpoints, and more are found, the trend seems to be away from conference enactments toward the building of group standards through consensus with application of them through personal discrimination in specific situations. Such a trend from earlier legalistic homogeneity delivers a heavy load for religious education to carry.

CHAPTER FIVE

Trends in Educational Norms and Goals

A fairly sure mark of transition in the life of a group is the shift in the norms of its own measurement. When a sect gives up its distinctive criteria and employs those of the world about it, it is leaving behind its conflict relationships and its conceptions of over-against-ness. The early Reorganization had some pretty well-defined standards by which it judged the quality of its life. These were not voted on and set down in systematic arrangement with group action. They were felt in a general consensus. Any system of education, to be effective, must vision fairly clearly the kind of person desired and the kind of group in which such a person is to live. A Latter Day Saint program must have a working idea of the qualities that characterize "the good Latter Day Saint." Just what these are appears to be more relative, more conditioned by the larger social milieu, and more extended in range than in former years. Representative fields will show these trends in norms and goals.

1. Ethical Qualities of the "Good Member." During the height of conflict relations with outside groups, a sect tends to set up its marks of a good member in terms of defenders of the faith who exhibit courage, ready knowledge of the group's beliefs and literature, and readiness to sacrifice for the whole. As conditions become less tense and interaction takes place with greater ease these standards tend to give way to those of ethical considerations. The standards of the good member may approximate those of the high-class citizen of the social order. The social program of Zion may have had much to do with the growing emphasis on developing persons of high moral quality. The growth of the conception of religious education which the functioning of religion in life situations was the end sought, contributed to the same end. This view was succinctly stated by Apostle Rushton.

"We have been in the habit . . . of making an appeal or postulating a position by undertaking to prove that position right by the piling up of the authoritative testimonies of the Bible or of the *Book*

of Mormon or *Doctrine and Covenants.* . . . Our religion is to be considered and treated with dignity and consideration because we can show that it really meets the needs of life and has within it those qualities which can enrich life and human personality, in that it enables men to love the things which God loves."[1]

2. Criteria of Ministerial Fitness.

The standards for the minister of the sect are written in the thought and feeling of the group, rather than on the printed page. Efficiency is attested in warmth of testimony, directness of preaching, convincing power, meeting of opponents on the outside. He must sound warning, denounce sin, proclaim the "new day," and affirm the divine fellowship in the sect's fellowship. As the years go by and conflict relations decline, the standards for the minister undergo change. There is concern with appearance, education, delivery, and related items. The people in general do not want excesses and idiosyncrasies.

In the Reorganization this has found several avenues of expression. One has been provision for and stimulation toward the education of ministers, another has been in insistence on "safeguarding calls" with the intent of avoiding ordinations that might be considered "hasty or unwise or illegal." This is not to be interpreted as a move to get away from the multiple-membered ministry to the professional pastor, but as a desire to be serviced by a better type of ministers who would compare favorably with other preachers and would command respect and hold the interest of all ages of the congregation.

3. The Christo-Centric Norm. In earlier days of the Reorganization it was not uncommon to hear the criticism that the sect emphasized their church and its particular features to the exclusion of Christ. While holding to the doctrine of the apostasy of medieval Christianity from the primitive faith and form and of the necessity for a "restoration," there has come to be an increased feeling of being linked to the general Christian tradition. Recently the study of the group's history has emphasized the Christo-centric aspect of the first vision of Joseph Smith. The heart of the message, "This is my beloved Son: Hear ye him" has been stressed as fundamental with many other items as secondary in importance. This centrality of Christ has been receiving attention in recent interpretations of the missionary message of the group.

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1. *The Church and Evangelism,* Herald Publishing House, 1941, pages 95, 96.

4. Quantitative Measurement. At first the sect does not show much concern about quantitative measurements. Perhaps the number of converts is the exception. As it becomes accommodated to general social patterns, it becomes aware of statistical presentations of means and of advances. Sometimes the period of the Reorganization's history from about 1900 to 1930 has been called "the period of expansion." These years saw growth that could be measured quantitatively. Perhaps the high point was reached in the centennial anniversary, when bulletins and reports had much to say of "church progress" with reference to "increased membership," "territorial expansion," increase in "net worth," etc. The large Auditorium in process of construction was a fit symbol of this quantitative concern, and the interest in the number of persons attending the Conference sessions showed the popular mind.

5. The Nature of Spirituality. Latter Day Saints have always spoken much of spirituality. They still do, but there is some difference in the employment of the word "spiritual." "Spiritual gifts" are still sought and cultivated as essentials to healthy group life. There has been no gesture indicating that they are viewed as outmoded and as belonging to another day. The main difference is that they are examined more critically with some conception of standards of their soundness and desirability.

Several factors have combined in this attitude. (1) Among the younger generation the study of psychology and related subjects has had effect. (2) Some have tended to arrange the gifts in levels of value, giving "wisdom" and "knowledge" especially high rank. (3) Administrative leaders have moved to check indiscriminate and excessive expressions in certain areas. (4) There has been a tendency to examine objectively many areas of the church life that were once set off with reverence. Lectures and lessons on the "gifts" have become not unusual, approached from the functional rather than from the doctrinal angle. The trend has been toward considering them as having value only in so far as they function for "the edification of the saints."

6. Standards of Sacrifice. The word "sacrifice" has been prominent in Latter Day Saint life. The good member has been viewed as one who gives unstintedly of time, money, energy, even social status and comforts for the "gospel." Recent years have brought reconsideration of the nature of intelligent sacrifice. Religious education still seeks to motivate toward sacrificial living, but it is interpreted in the light of the

total personal-group welfare with a long-time view. The first missionaries who went out "without purse or scrip," leaving their families to providential care, were hailed as heroes. The April Conference of 1874 decided that families of missionaries were to be supported out of the tithing funds of the general church. In later years this subsidization was extended to the elders themselves. Quite recently a ministerial reserve fund has been set up. Some still talk of the good old days when missionaries went out in "faith believing," but on the whole the pattern of thinking about sacrificial living has shown considerable development.

Religious educators have promoted a terminology brought in from the general education world. They speak of "objectives," "criteria," "standards of excellence," "norms," "measurements," and the like. This suggests a concern with formulating goals rather specifically in terms of identifiable achievements. It involves the interpretation of qualities of spirituality in terms of socially significant conduct. It means, too, the introduction of problem-solving materials, involving discrimination and creative thinking as educational goals. It presumes the continued re-evaluation of goals and norms in the light of changing social conditions and changing relationships of Latter Day Saints with their social order.

CHAPTER SIX

Accommodation in Later Religious Education

Accommodation is never as dramatic and vivid as conflict. Generally, events and personalities do not stand out as boldly. It is quite possible, however, to discover specific developments which chart the course of adjustment of a religious group to the patterns of things about it. The past three decades show many such features of accommodation in the life of Latter Day Saints. Many of these have been impelled by, or at least registered in the program of religious education. It is enough to say that Latter Day Saints do and think with less strain with reference to their neighbors in other religious bodies. Representative areas are designated for illustrative purposes.

1. Formal Worship. About twenty years ago studies on methods and materials of worship appeared. In Sunday schools and other gatherings, opening exercises were often replaced by "worship services." There was talk of objectives, organization, etc. Perhaps leaders were only bringing to the foreground for analysis what had been taken for granted in the background.

The first public meetings of the Reorganization, were, in the main, for prayer, for preaching, for business. They were held in homes, occasionally in halls. Naturally the order of service of all these was simple and informal. Preaching, too, had these qualities of spontaneity. Especially did the prayer meeting exhibit the democracy and the fraternity of the small group. God seemed very near. The sense of mission was very deep and very specific. Under this afflatus men and women faced the world with assurance and conviction.

Gradually changes took place. Some of these happened without much awareness, while others brought on argumentation and debate. Several factors operated to produce a more formal type of worship. Provision of houses of worship, though plain and small, tended to give stability and form. Increase in size of membership made possible organization of choirs, use of instruments, and similar features of established

church worship. Persons of greater range of culture appeared in the congregations and encouraged the trend toward plan and practice.

The story of music among the Latter Day Saints almost charts the story of this development of more formal worship. As in many other groups, note singing and choral music were called into question. They were innovations, marks of worldliness, and seeds of disruption. Arguments were spicy and specific. The choir at Plano, Illinois, one of the first to be established, was not admitted without contest. Joseph Luff, a former apostle, has pictured in his autobiograph, the growing pains in the Independence, Missouri, congregation as choir and organ were branded "high falutin" and worldly. So tense did the situation become that a revelation to the church gave counsel on the cultivation and use of musical instruments. It is a long way from the informal congregational singing of a Conference in an Illinois barn to a service with printed program with music by a robed *a cappella* chorus singing Palestrina and Bach.

The Reorganization has moved toward attention to building appointments, order of service, study of principles, suitability of materials, setting for the service, and long-time planning. Directors of institutes and periodicals for ministers have applied this to the conducting of baptismal, ordination, and other services, especially cherished by Latter Day Saints. The group faces the problem of keeping the more formal service a medium for the expression of the spiritual genius that has been distinctive of the movement.

2. The Use of Outside Texts. The self-centered sect takes care to protect its "truth" against infiltration of extraneous ideas. Latter Day Saints very early established their own press and looked toward the writing of their own texts. Shortage of means and man power impelled the church of the late nineteenth century to reach out for "outside" texts. Hurlbut's studies of the Bible was an early instance. A survey of study materials after 1920 showed a marked trend in this direction. Often a recommended text would be accompanied by a study outline which was presumed to provide appropriate direction. Names such as Fosdick, Betts, Cope, and Richardson became well known. Increase of men and women trained in standard colleges and universities has brought a greater acquaintance with these materials, well known in the general denominational world. The church has not been able to subsidize the writing and the printing of texts to replace these.

3. Specialized Training for Church Workers. In the early spontaneous days of a sect, workers, as a rule, do not receive special training. Later standards for their representatives, including educational ones, appear. This has happened in the Reorganization. Very early there arose suggestions about a school for the training of the ministry, but nothing materialized. This failure was due, in part, to lack of means, but it was also due to distrust of theological schools and "mills for ministers." The idea of providing specialized training developed very slowly. By 1919 the General Conference could authorize the establishment of a course of training for prospective workers. This grew, to some extent, out of a current interest in foreign missions after the idealism of World War I. The project was experimental, but it did register a concern for providing a more adequately equipped ministry. This interest has found greater expression in institutes, reading courses, etc., for ordained men. The attitude of the church has been that while ordination and entrance into the ministry can never become a matter of making a vocational choice and receiving training for it, the calling of men is conditioned by their educational fitness, and their efficiency after ordination should be maintained by continued study.

4. The Study of Society. The early conflict group does not study society objectively. It may observe the world of affairs to detect "signs of the times" that justify its viewpoint. In many groups the times are out of joint, and the world is ripe in iniquity and ready for judgment. Later there may come to be a concern for effecting desirable changes in the world at large. During the last two decades, in particular, there has grown among Latter Day Saints a sense of responsibility for the uplift of the social order and a recognition of the interdependence of the church with that larger society. Perhaps the early years had been too much taken up with survival and elementary organization to afford much time for this larger interest. The against-the-world attitude persists in the member who refused to sign a petition for world peace because she believed the world would get worse and worse and that there was no use trying to prevent it.

It is in the conception of Zion that the shift in social concern and objectivity is most apparent. The earlier ideas were often those of a haven of refuge, quite apart from the social world. The way of establishment was through withdrawal, guidance through special revelation, and deliverance through providential protection. The growing awareness that Latter Day

Saints were not the only group that hoped for and worked toward social betterment made inroad on this attitude. Study of physical, biological, and social sciences stimulated the conception of law inherent in the universe with the implication that man should discover these laws and comply with them in the work of building Zion. More recently the idea of Zion as an evolving society has appeared. These bear marks of influences from without and of creative thinking within. This is summarized in a manual for youth.

"Zion is not for us today a completed society, but a social order that is ever becoming. It is a process in which Saints in co-operative effort are working under divine inspiration to discover God's laws, and to utilize them for the common good."[1]

5. Association With Outside Groups. There was no question about association with other religious groups in the early days of the Reorganization. The Latter Day Saints were either not wanted or were too insignificant to matter. Since then two questions have risen, *whether* such should take place, and *how*. Participation in organizations that strike across religious groupings could be made most easily. The Boy Scout program officially adopted by the church in 1917-18 offered such a possibility. Contacts with such bodies as the International Council of Religious Education have been on the increase. In some cities Latter Day Saints participate in ministerial associations. The report of the city of Zion to the Conference of 1940 makes specific mention of increased comity among the religious groups of Independence with the consequent getting together for matters of common civic concern.

The foregoing material is not to be interpreted as indicating a group surrender of what Latter Day Saints consider distinctive and fundamental. Rather does it suggest that there is an attempt to maintain these and live agreeably and even co-operatively with neighbors. Contacts of educators with outside institutions, texts, and persons have put them in touch with streams of thinking and have widened interest in social problems. Educational terminology has permitted them to speak the same language. Just how far this accommodation and co-operation can go on and should go on is a question that rises up with some insistence.

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1. Roy Cheville, *The Branch of Today and Tomorrow.* Herald Publishing House, 1941, page 133.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Youth's Bases of Allegiance

What are the bases of allegiance of members for their group? When that group is experiencing a changing relationship to the social order, this is a pretty important question. Previous sections have shown that the foundations of loyalty in the first days of Latter Day Saintism and in the Reorganization involved considerable of the conflict spirit. If this gives way to accommodation, the effect may be highly significant.

There can be no generalizations that young Latter Day Saints are "weaker" or "stronger" in the faith than were those of a half century ago. First of all, conceptions of weakness and strength have changed. In 1870 the strong youth of the Reorganization had to be able to stand jibes, ridicule, and stronger treatment and had to be able to distinguish between his people and the Utah group. Today the strong youth must remain an active participant in his church in the midst of a social order that lures to activities that would indirectly weaken his allegiance to his group, a social order that is practically disinterested in considerations of theological distinctiveness.

In the early days of the Reorganization there persisted in most places sufficient hostility toward the movement to keep alive a sense of apartness. In more recent years, however, some feeling of social acceptance has been developing among the members. The external pressure has diminished. In church centers with fairly large congregations there is little or no odium attached to membership in the group. It is here that children are born into the group and they accept their membership as a matter of course.

The Induction of Children

Latter Day Saints are unique in their program of admitting children into membership at an early age. In a revelation given in 1833 responsibility for religious instruction was placed directly upon the parents. Children properly instructed were to be baptized at the age of eight. The counsel presumed a stable community, a nurturing congregation, and wholesome homes. It was no blanket terminology for all children regardless of

teaching. It is notable that the Latter Day Saints looked to education rather than to a conversion experience such as was preached at the time. They thundered at the doctrine of infant baptism, against the current concept of original sin, against the idea of the damnation of unbaptized children. They gave new emphasis upon the potentialities to be realized through adequate training.

That this reception of children has proceeded is shown by statistics of ages of baptism. In 1941, 57.8 per cent of all baptisms were of persons between eight and fourteen. Whether there has been much clarity as to the nature of the educational process involved in training and in admission is not shown by any available data. A cursory examination indicates that many parents have had little more than a general idea that the child should be baptized at a given age. There are, of course, many conscientious parents and leaders who try to see the meaning and significance of union with the church.

Factors Prompting Affiliation

A four-year investigation was made to ascertain on what bases young Latter Day Saints had affiliated with their church. The work extended from 1937 to 1941. The age, 15 to 29 was used, since that was the age division designated by the church's youth program. The study was set up both to discover what young people considered had been operative and also to stimulate them to examine the foundations of their allegiance. The investigation was directed toward young people who would be considered "interested" in their church, using the criteria of attendance, discussion, and willingness to fill out questionnaires as indicative of interest. It was presumed that from this group would come a large percentage of the coming leaders of the group.

First, the remarks of adults who spoke of their reasons for joining the group were noted and listed. These were heard in conversations, classes, testimony meetings, sermons, etc., without atmosphere of interview or inquiry. The statements fell into twelve main categories. The original phrasing was retained.

1. My parents and relatives belonged.
2. My friends and acquaintances were in the church.
3. I saw that it was patterned after the New Testament church.
4. I was convinced that the *Book of Mormon* was of divine origin.

5. I was attracted by the program of Zion.
6. I considered that the Latter Day Saint conception of God was sound for today.
7. I witnessed the gifts of the gospel among the Latter Day Saints.
8. It was convenient for me to attend and join.
9. I was afraid of God's displeasure if I did not join.
10. Biblical prophesies pointed to the Restoration.
11. The Spirit bore witness to me of the truth of the message.
12. It looked reasonable from every angle.

This list was presented to adult members who would be considered in "good faith," to ascertain if it covered the field. After checking, a mimeographed questionnaire was prepared, asking three main questions:

1. What were your reasons for affiliating with the church?
2. What elements of the church do you consider most basic and unique?
3. What are your present bases of loyalty to the church?

Other items were included for stimulating thought and for cross checking:

1. What have been the shifts in your loyalties during the past ten years?
2. What factors promoted these shifts?
3. What would weaken them?

No questionnaires were mailed. They were given only when there was ample time for instruction and a suitable setting for filling them out. Approximately 1,500 replies were considered acceptable for tabulation. The returns showed that most had been baptized in the eight to twelve age group. The 1,500 questionnaires filled out acceptably came from fairly well-distributed areas. Congregations, large and small, urban and rural, close to and far from the center place were included. When students at Graceland College were examined, it was early in their freshman year before they were influenced to any great degree by college life and instruction.

The upshot of the matter is clear. These young Latter Day Saints, for the majority, considered that items one and two had been most influential: the membership of parents and the association with friends who belonged. The group is clearly in the "second generation" phase. Some have made little personal decision in the matter since baptism and have been carried along with their associates and their families. Others have made

some investigation on their own. It is apparent that unless youth are to drift out or become hangers-on to a movement they little understand, the church must conduct a program for the years after baptism that will permit and promote development of sound bases of allegiance.

The list of bases for allegiance to the church at the present was arrived at pretty much the same way as was the list of reasons for baptism. The basic question might be interpreted as meaning, What holds you to the church today? These were the statements of the final form:

1. My family heritage in it.
2. The testimonies of its members.
3. My association with friends of the church.
4. Opportunities of expression afforded me in it.
5. Its scriptural basis.
6. Healings, miracles, etc., I have witnessed in it.
7. The social program, centering in Zion.
8. The difficulty of withdrawal: the ease to remain.
9. The divinity of the *Book of Mormon.*
10. A sense of prophetic power in the church.
11. The high quality of persons I know in the church.
12. My personal testimony of the divinity of the church.
13. My fear of consequence in separating from it.
14. The general philosophy of life it teaches.
15. Its function as an agency for world service.

Replies to the questionnaire indicated (1) that there tends to be a development in assigned bases for allegiance after baptism, and (2) that these vary with congregational and personal backgrounds. For instance, in second year college, items 14 and 15 show up more frequently. In some quarters they were never checked. Of course, it should be remembered that any one statement can carry a diversity of meanings. The investigation leads one to conclude that many are held by rather flimsy and often self-centered bonds. Such a study stirs educators to consider not only whether there are bases of loyalty, but whether these are adequate for Latter Day Saints in their changing relationship to the social order.

Replies to the question concerning the factors promoting shifts in bases of loyalty were partially satisfactory. Answers came from what might be called the more alert and more discriminating. The following forces were enumerated by this group: (1) instruction of and association with "dynamic" and "inspiring" teachers in the church; (2) general educational contacts; (3) new and more extended contacts with nonchurch

persons and groups; (4) study on one's own; and (5) maturing religious experience.

Study of replies in relation to the character of the local group carries considerable significance. For instance one branch had eighteen young people of the age involved. They had a more than usual amount of college education and had received the ministry of a man known for his interpretation of the social gospel. This was reflected in their responses. Another rural group at some distance from the central areas centered most of their attention on the miraculous elements and Zion as a place of refuge. Another group, nearer the center of the church made much of the association they found in the church.

Conceptions of Uniqueness

A second phase of the study attempted to find out what young Latter Day Saints consider the distinguishing features of their church. It was assumed that such data would indicate the strength and quality of their loyalties. After considerable experimentation it was found advisable to employ the method of free response in which each wrote down what he considered the three outstanding features. The hundreds of replies were fairly easy to classify since they fell under a few main headings. Some 884 replies were accepted and tabulated. The order was as follows:

1. Present day revelation.
2. The social program of Zion.
3. Authority of the priesthood.
4. The *Book of Mormon.*
5. Scriptural pattern of the church.
6. The "gifts," *i. e.,* prophecy, healing, etc.

A variety of some forty items trailed after these. The first of the list, present-day revelation was named in ninety-one per cent of the replies, the program of Zion in eighty-three per cent, the authority of the priesthood in slightly under seventy per cent.

Certain cautions should be exercised in interpreting these returns. One must inquire whether the young people put down what they really thought and what they understood, or what they thought they were supposed to put down. It must be remembered, also that terms like "Zion" carry a wide range of meanings. It is necessary to study not only *what* youth consider distinctive, but also *how* they believe in these characteristics and *how much* they hold them to be vital and essential. There is no

question, however, but that young Latter Day Saints consider their church as possessing a marked uniqueness and as having a special mission in the world. This is shown more adequately in scores of case studies which cannot be admitted in a monograph of these proportions.

Reinterpretation of Fundamental Concepts

Approximately three hundred young Latter Day Saints of junior college level were asked to list what they considered to be major developments that had been taking place in the thinking of the church during the past twenty years, developments of some significance to the movement. Preliminary work brought replies that fell into eight groupings and these headings were used for the final investigation. The nature of the inquiry called for a fairly good acquaintance with the church's beliefs and programs. Materials were collected and summarized under (1) what the young people considered permanent elements, (2) what changes they believed had been taking place, and (3) representative quotations. The last will not be presented here. It should be remembered that these data are to be taken as indicating what youth *think* has been happening, a rather important item in a study of social adjustment. The statements given here are summarized from the papers as a whole. The eighth heading "The Church's Conception of Its Role," is presented in a later section.

Elements Considered Basic and Permanent

I. Revelation.

1. View that God speaks in all ages and circumstances according to man's receptivity and responsiveness.
2. Belief that the experience of Joseph Smith was a gesture to modern times of continued revelation.
3. Viewpoint that the prophet is the designated receptor in the church for communication to the body.

II. Zion.

1. Conviction that the establishment of community or communities constituting Zion is an essential part of the church's program.
2. Acceptance of Independence, Missouri, as the center place in the gathering program.
3. Belief that divine direction is essential to the establishment of Zion.

4. Stipulation that members meet "spiritual" and "temporal" requirements for participation in the zionic program.

III. The Second Coming.

1. Connection of the second coming with the establishment of Zion.
2. View of the second coming as fulfillment of expectations and as expression of the supremacy of righteousness.
3. Requirement of spiritual fitness on part of believers.

IV. Ministerial Authority.

1. Conviction that the minister must be "called of God" and approved by people.
2. Belief that the experience of Joseph Smith constituted a "restoration" of priesthood authority in modern times.
3. Interpretation of the priesthood of the church as involving graduation of authority and specialization of function.
4. Viewpoint that right to function is conditioned by the fitness of the minister.

V. Signs of the Times.

1. Events in history are indexes of the trend of the divine purpose.
2. The course of things in human affairs point to the necessity of building Zion as haven for the Saints and "an ensign to the nations."
3. Events in modern times indicate a faster tempo in the movement of human affairs—a ripening of the times for the preaching of the gospel.

VI. Divine Healing.

1. Belief in the desirability and efficacy of the laying on of hands by the elders for bringing blessing to those afflicted. Use of consecrated oil in the rite.
2. Testimony of experiences of healing of the sick.

VII. The Scriptures.

1. Open canon of the scriptures.
2. Inclusion of the *Book of Mormon* and the *Doctrine and Covenants* in the list of books accepted as scriptural.
3. Use of scripture in patterning the form and the function of the church.

Developments of Recent Years

I. Revelation.

1. Growing analysis of the process itself, its operation, the nature of inspiration, etc.

2. More critical evaluation of the message itself, implying a weighing of the counsel of a purported revelation, with less inclination to accept without criticism a "Thus saith the Lord."

3. Designation of channels of communication, thereby promoting orderliness, and preventing spasmodic expression of the "gifts."

4. Growth of the conception of the relativity of revelation —the viewpoint that injects the conditional element of prophecy, the influence of the person in reception and expression.

II. Zion.

1. Slow, but steady spread of the long-time view of Zion, of looking upon it as a process, rather than a completed product.

2. Incorporation of education, science, and the like in constructing a zionic program.

3. Raising the question of the relation of Zion to the larger social order, with the implication that the Latter Day Saint Zion is not to be, cannot be an isolated community, in economic, political, or other respects.

4. Attention to the idea of social planning, with the conviction that the original thought of the church involved this much more than the members foresaw. This idea of social planning suggests selectivity in making up those who will participate in the social venture.

5. Critical treatment in historical studies of attempts of Latter Day Saints to establish Zion.

III. The Second Coming.

Many of the replies exhibited a kind of bewilderment in reacting to this topic. This in itself was significant. This should not be interpreted as being the case with the entire membership. It does represent an attitude and condition of mind in this type of young person.

1. Less particularism about features of the second coming. This involves specificness about place, circumstances, purpose, etc.

2. Diminution of emphasis on immediacy of the event.

3. Inclination toward the spiritual and less tangible aspects,

in contrast to the anthropomorphic picture with specific blessings; emphasis on ethical rather than cataclysmic aspects.

4. Increase of the conditional element.

IV. Ministerial Authority.

1. Recognition of the human element in a divinely called ministry. This even involves training so as to make for qualification for ordination.

2. Concern as to the blending of theocracy and democracy in a working program of church administration, with recognition of some confusion in bringing the two aspects together.

3. Study of the relations of the quorums and departments of the church in a functional way as well as in accordance with scriptural requirements.

V. Signs of the Times.

1. Tendency to think in terms of social trends, rather than of specific events a designating the course of human affairs.

2. Attitude toward certain natural phenomena, such as earthquakes as recurring in history, without undo attachment of meaning to any specific one.

3. Emphasis on the human factor as conditioning the course of events; less reliance on fate.

4. Recognition of the place of natural law.

5. Extension of the time element in affairs of the universe.

VI. Divine Healing.

1. Co-ordination of the functions of faith and medicine, with complementary work on the part of the minister and the doctor.

2. Education of the membership in preventative medicine, in physical and mental hygiene.

3. Attention to fitness for reception of healing.

VII. The Scriptures.

1. Growth in the idea of constructing the social background of scriptural writings.

2. Rise of the idea of using the scriptures as a guide, rather than as a lawbook.

These studies show the impact of contemporary culture upon the thinking of young Latter Day Saints and their endeavors to come to a workable interpretation of their religion in order to make it functional in their lives. They remind religious educators that they face the important problem of building adequate loyalties if growing youth are to retain interest and even membership.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Development in the Latter Day Saints' Conception of Their Role in Society

The way a group thinks about its place in society is an important consideration. To a degree what a group thinks about its relations with others determines what others think about it. The earlier days of the sect generally exhibit a sense of particular mission that places it over against the world. Some bodies look upon themselves as the select people to whom the Lord will come. Some interpret themselves as the true and authorized remnant. When conflict gives way to easier interaction, these ideas do not disappear. They are not voted out: they remain and undergo reinterpretation. The group sees itself in a different relation to society.

Change has been taking place in Latter Day Saint thinking. There has been no upheaval, no revolution. It has been more gradual than that. In many quarters the conflict conception of world relationship still persists. In circles where members have been thrown in contact with social movements and current streams of thinking, there has been some rethinking of the place of the church in the light of changing conditions and contemporary thought patterns.

The Viewpoint of College Students

At Graceland College students were exposed to inquiry about their church. Classes on the campus and lectures by leaders of the general church were set up to do so. Then those who gave evidence of social insight and interest in their church were asked to write their views about the place of Latter Day Saints in the social order. Some three hundred replies of good quality were received. By good quality is not meant agreement with a given point of view but evidence of thinking on their own and some grasp of the problem under consideration. A few typical quotations are presented.

1. The church's first conception of its place in society was mainly that of gathering to a social frontier where it could be alone. "Come out of Babylon" was the cry of the movement. The frontier days came to an end. Society has closed in around the little group. A once outward-pressure-packed people is facing the task of reinterpreting its relation to a world from which it once tried to escape.

2. In the earlier days of the church the trend of thinking seemed to be that the sooner the Saints could gather, get away from the sinful world, the better. We still look to gathering, but for a different purpose. Today the thinking people of the church are realizing that we have a world-wide mission. We cannot do this by pulling ourselves apart to one spot. We must get out into the world and show them that God is in this work and that there is something to it.

3. The church must set itself to the building of a better social order. The conception that we are a chosen people has changed from the idea that we are favorites to the idea that we have special responsibility. Zion is not thought of so much as a hiding place, but as a servicing center.

4. I was brought up to believe that all other churches were wrong. I see now that there are people of excellent quality in them. God can use them in his work, too. We have a special calling, but we must work with other agencies for great movements of social welfare. I wonder if we can keep true to our gospel and do this.

5. Today we recognize the good in every religious movement, even those quite different from ours. The Salvation Army, for instance, has done a unique service in servicing the needy and helping them to achieve self-respect. We work with them, and yet realize that we have a very special responsibility. We might say that we have a little more of the inside story.

One cannot make hasty generalizations about the way young people are thinking about their church and society. These replies came from those who were stimulated to consider the problem, and had been exposed to instruction in the field. At least, it may be said that a development in thinking has been taking place in which Latter Day Saints think more and more about their place as an agency for bringing about a desirable social order and about their mission in spreading the gospel that they believe will make this possible.

The Outlook of Leaders

A communication was addressed to several score of leaders in the general church, seeking replies about the church's conception of its social role. Care was taken to make it a fair sampling. There was no attempt to substantiate any position. The letter of explanation included these paragraphs.

"I am making a study of the role of education in Latter Day Saints' adjustment to the larger social order. The movement is making a transition from the relationship of a conflict group to that of a fairly well accepted religious body. All this involves an innner development. We move from days of external compulsion to a time when bonds must be developed internally. It is generally understood that a group of consequence must have vitality to develop its own bonds. In such a transitional period many former conflict groups have merged back into the general social order and have lost their identity. . . . Our own group has experienced an unusual situation of starting over as a conflict group in 1853. Now what of the future? Three questions are presented:

"1. What is to be the role of the Reorganized Latter Day Saint group in the social order? What shall be their inter-relationships with others?

"2. How shall Latter Day Saints maintain their identity and develop this conception of their role? What shall they consider as distinctive of their movement?

"3. What shall be the future of education in the group? What system of education shall we develop?"

The replies, kept anonymous, constitute a stimulating body of literature. While there is a wide range of thought patterns certain trends of thinking are observable.

1. The church must speak its message and carry on its mission on its merits, not on the weaknesses of other groups.
2. The way of antagonism and conflict will have less place than formerly. The church must plan accordingly.
3. Latter Day Saints are to build a morality and to live in such community as will be exemplary and demonstrative of the Christian way of life.
4. The kingdom of God has world-wide implications, and the church is the nucleus for its development.
5. The unique features of the movement must be developed and emphasized together without going off at a tangent on any one.
6. No program of activities, nor system of education will assure group integrity and continuation without the warm spiritual vitality and prophetic leadership inherent in the original movement.

This list does not characterize any given reply, but does suggest the train of thinking that ran through them. There was a general recognition that the group was experiencing a changed social relationship and that there is need of study of the situation. Every reply recognized the need of an adequate program of general and religious education. Just what such a program should be was not indicated nor outlined in the general run of the replies.

A few scattered quotations indicate the frankness and directness toward the question in point.

From a veteran missionary:

"First of all, we must get out of our minds our handicap of an inferiority complex, the results of which tend to make us antagonistic to all others whom we have been wont to denominate as 'sectarian,' although that term applies to ourselves as well as to others."

From a middle-age church appointee:

"We shall be more friendly and co-operative with other groups, but we shall still be radical. We must make the conviction of the coming kingdom of God the first thing in our lives. I doubt that anyone who is first of all a 100 per cent member of a political party or any other group will ever make a good Latter Day Saint. We must live in these without making them our major loyalty."

From a social-minded bishop:

"The world awaits the services of some religiously motivated, prophetically enlightened group that will exhibit in its own community a pattern of society that will recommend itself for universal adoption. Whether it is Latter Day Saints or some other nucleus, existing or to be formed, that will fill that role is a question to which time alone will give the answer."

From an apostle with large overview:

"The evangel of the Reorganized Church must revolve around two polar teachings: the 'new birth' and the coming of 'the kingdom.' Our inter-relations with all other groups, in so far as they lend themselves to these objectives must be sympathetic, co-operative, and unifying."

From a woman of experience in church life:

"The policy of isolationism has brought us many unhappy experiences. We can and should participate in any good movements which do not call for sacrifice of some of our fundamental principles. Our interest is larger than our own little circle. . . . We have distinct features that can be cultivated. . . . Our education can build an intelligent idea of God working in the universe and more particularly through the church."

The Overview of the Centennial

The centennial anniversary of 1930 is important here only so far as it stimulated a reconsideration of the place of the church in the social order. There was a combination of looking back over one century and a forward looking into

a new one. Perhaps only a small minority was concerned with this latter aspect, but that small group's analyses are worthy of consideration. Some of the outstanding reflections of a developing world of thought is found in the summary statements of the anniversary booklet. The changed social relationship is clearly grasped, and the interpretation of the work of the church in terms of an educational program is stated with clarity.

"The worst trials seem to be over and the most difficult prejudices overcome. The church is far beyond its early stage where it tended to participate in the spirit of rash adventure and irrepressible enthusiasm which characterized the people of the early part of the nineteenth century. Reverses and suffering have taught the church to expect less, and to value more highly the slow and sure gains which come from steady growth and hard work.

"The Reorganized Latter Day Saints wish to co-operate with all other people who engage in an effort to make society better, to make human life safer and happier, to promote piety and righteousness, and to build a spirit of universal brotherhood among men. For while they have their own projects to attain, they know that they may attain them better by mutual co-operation with all forces that work for good."

This does not speak the language of a sect that is at war with society. It sounds more like the voice of a religious body that has reached some degree of adjustment and responsibility to society. These elements, involved in the entire bulletin make it so:

1. A sense of respect and proved status in the social world.
2. A long-time program with expectation of achievement through slow, steady gains.
3. An interest in general social welfare and a disposition to co-operate with other agencies in achieving it.
4. An interpretation of unique features in terms of service to the common good.
5. A purpose to use modern science and philosophy to spiritual ends.
6. An emphasis on religious education for the development of persons in the group.

CHAPTER NINE

Tensions, Adjustments and Growing Points

Social change brings tension. A well-grooved social order may run on without adjustments and re-evaluations. Sometimes a group may go on contentedly, oblivious to evolutions that are going on all about it. A lag may develop with a breach between its institutions and contemporary life. Strains need not always be cause for alarm. They may present opportunities for adjustment and growth. The significant thing is how a group reacts to such situations.

It would be expected that a group like the Reorganized Latter Day Saintss, experiencing continued interaction with their social world with changing relationships would have plenty of strains and adjustments. The movement from its rise was schooled to resist anything foreign and disruptive. A generally free press and conference floor gave opportunity to exercise this watch care. In many groups the strains come to a head in educational circles where crosscurrents of thinking meet. On several occasions an outburst of conflict seemed imminent in the Reorganization's life, but in almost every case it was shunted aside. This was not due so much to resolution of issues nor to administrative direction, but to chains of circumstances, not directly concerned with religious education. Other situations crowded in for attention.

If the Reorganization had had to go through a war of disputation, involving the very theological foundations on which religious education stands, the results would have been disastrous. It would have been of the type of civil war that many churches experienced in their bitter clashes between fundamentalism and modernism. The Reorganization never got round to a good fight on these issues. By the time administrative questions were off the center of the stage, the other matters had lost some of their fire. Some kind of adjustment had been made in the general mind, or the people were not disposed toward more argument.

Tension Areas

In a transitional period such as the Reorganization ex-

perienced just before and just after 1920, members of the group are likely to become aware of strain, yet be unable to diagnose the situation. They may attribute their growing pains to some specific person or event or institution whereas these may only be the symptoms or indices of something that runs deeper. In the field of education these major areas came in for criticism as the causes for dissatisfaction: (1) the continued advocacy of increased education by the president of the church; (2) the curriculum of the church college with its presumed sympathy toward "evolution" and the like; (3) the field of religious education involving a clash between transmissive and exploratory conceptions of education; and (4) the relative place of the theocratic and ecclesiastical procedures over against the democratic. The strains that came to the surface were often those of personality differences, cultural contrasts, financial policies, etc. From an extended list to miscellaneous tensions in the frank conversations and discussions of members comes a picture of what goes on in periods of group evolution. The following are chosen at random to indicate the diversity which gives rise to strains, as reflected in congregational life.

"Some of us would like to hear some good old gospel sermons, something besides psychology and sociology."

"Choir robes make one more step in patterning after the 'popular churches.' If we keep on, there will be no difference between them and us."

"The women in the center places are copying what other women are doing. Wearing evening dresses and having pink teas are not part of our church program."

"Pretty soon every minister will have to have a college education. The church didn't start out that way."

"What kind of men are being called to places of administrative responsibility? Mostly men of conservative fundamentalism. We cannot get far that way."

"We are getting pretty loose on this question of dancing. We need some good, straight law laid down."

Long-Time Problems of Adjustment

Some questions, growing out of changing conditions and social exposures cannot be answered by a vote at a given occasion. They will go along with slow change in attitude and outlook. They will remain the possession of a very few

who can read the signs of the educational times. Here are representative ones:

1. The interpretation of Latter Day Saint history. Early studies were generally defensive and apologetic, bent on proving the high qualities of leaders, denying charges and descriptions considered misrepresentative and derogatory, and explaining reverses and conflicts. A growth in objectivity in the study of Latter Day Saint history entails much adjustment.

2. The Indian and Jewish responses to the movement. The believers of 1830 and after looked confidently for an influx of converts from American Indians and Jews. Missionary returns have not been gratifying. A reconsideration of both message and method is required.

3. The time-span of the church's program. In the first years the Messianic advent was expected very shortly. As time has passed there has been necessitated adjustment in the time-span of the present era, both with respect to length and climactic close.

4. The nature of the social order and of the church's relation to it. Much has developed in social science since 1853. The growth of the idea of process in social phenomena has involved the idea that Zion is not a finished product. The conception of the church's mission to the world has been discussed in a foregoing section.

5. The data and outlook of biological and physical sciences. By 1920 young Latter Day Saints were meeting the facts and theories of natural science in high school and college. They met the questions of the story of creation in the book of Genesis, the virgin birth, anthropological classifications with their relation to the American Indian, etc.

6. The nature of the gathering. This has taken on a complexity and an enormity that have been baffling as the simple outlook of former days heard the stern voice of warning of history and social science.

The list might go on. These are sufficient to indicate what is ahead of the group. Some will lament the existence of such problems and will long for a group thought, solid, unified, and complete. Others will see in these problems the possible growing points for their church. How the Latter Day Saints read and interpret and attempt to solve these pressing questions will determine the course their group life will take in the future.

CHAPTER TEN

Recent Group Emphases in Education

The past decade has seen a re-emphasis of distinctive qualities of Latter Day Saintism in the educational department of the church. This is not to be interpreted, necessarily, as a reactionary movement. The 1930 anniversary had little to do with it. Of the several factors that brought the church to an examination of itself, the Depression was the most influential. When the group faced a financial crisis, leaders saw the necessity of group morale and spiritual revival. It is likely that the sense of extremity led toward this re-emphasis of Latter Day Saint values. Those who read the times sought for a working program that would provide adequate bases for allegiance and participation.

The solutions suggested were varied. Some called for more effective leadership. Some pointing out a laxity in devotion and conviction in the membership, looked toward reaffirmation of positions and resolutions of earlier days. Some believed that a concerted evangelistic endeavor was needed. Some insisted that the way of deliverance was that of repentance. Many thought the church needed a vital and vitalizing system of education. Latter Day Saints like most Americans consider education a panacea for prevailing ills, so out of it all, an added emphasis on education did appear. There was no centralized movement. It operated on several fronts.

Instruction and Enlistment in Church Finance

The church of today is finance conscious. The action of finance leaders in 1931 was drastic. It involved reduction in appropriations in all departments, cessation of some departments, release of appointees, curtailment of expansion, balancing of the budget, and a long-time program of payment of the accumulated debt. The Bishops adopted a policy of informing the church in detail of the church's situation as they went along. They stated that an "enlightened member-

ship" was essential to the realization of their aims. Materials and programs on tithing, personal and family budgeting, etc., have been included in the program. The motivation for participation through giving underwent re-interpretation.

The Restatement of Objectives

The General Conference of 1932 was the first one to meet after the facing of the crisis in the finances of the church. Underneath everything ran the common concern to make the church carry through. In the search for common ground, two documents of considerable significance were adopted with free discussion and unanimous approval. The first had to do with a statement of major teaching objectives, the second with organization and emphases. These were designed to give freshness and unity to the educational work with sound Latter Day Saint emphasis. It was something new for a general assembly to be talking about teaching objectives.

A Common Evangelical Program

Early in 1940 the First Presidency called together leaders of departments and institutions of the church to discuss the inauguration of a program of home missionary activities. The foreign field was precluded by war situations. The whole field of meanings, motivations, methods, materials, and personnel was considered. The entire church was mustered in, to engage in a common evangelistic endeavor for the coming biennium. Through all this the group sought to recapture the missionary zeal of a former day.

Preparation Schools for Children

The provision of training schools for children who are to be baptized has fallen, for the most, in the last decade. Probably two interests converged: that of workers in religious education who wanted the experience to have some meaning to children, and that of administrators who wanted to insure sounder allegiance to the church. The materials provided have, as a rule, sought to make a constructive approach. There is no putting the child on the defensive, no cry of persecution, no denunciation of other movements. The church faces the need for data on which to build an adequate theory and program for such schools.

Education for Family Life

The last ten years have witnessed a growing concern among Latter Day Saints about marriage and family life. Twenty years ago the group was priding itself on the very small number of divorces that occurred among the church membership. Then church leaders became aware that the numbers of divorces were mounting, until in 1938, there was one divorce out of every 11 marriages of church members. There came to be a recognition that many members were marrying outside of the church with consequent casualities in church loyalty. Pastors and educators took up the problem and began a program of education for marriage and family life. The church became in earnest in its attempt to stop losses through ill-advised marriages, either inside or outside the group, by preparation for marriage, promotion of healthy contacts of young Latter Day Saints, elevation of the marriage service, provision of counseling helps, education for efficiency in and enrichment of family life.

Organization of a Youth Association

The first general organization for youth, effected in 1893, had evolved into a meeting for all ages. It underwent further metamorphosis and became the Department of Recreation and Expression in 1925. Then in 1930 this was incorporated in a comprehensive Department of Religious Education. The Depression thwarted it before it got a youth program under way. Local groups began to spring up. Concern grew that these should be gathered into a general organization with a program that should attract and develop young Latter Day Saints. Through 1936-7 there rose a youth organization that was christened "Zion's League." The idea grew among pastors and administrators that a program should be provided so that young people would stay with the movement because they found help, growth, and satisfaction in it.

Reconsideration of the Place of Graceland College

When the program of financial retrenchment was adopted in 1931, several departments were cut and some were discontinued. The college of the church came under scrutiny, but there was no consideration of eliminating the annual appropriation of the church. It was reduced commensurate with cuts in other fields. The crisis did bring about a re-

evaluation of the function of the college in the total life of the church. Changes in the general educational world were calling for a review of the place of the junior college. Studies showed that over a period of years over ninety per cent of the student body came from Latter Day Saint homes. The investigations that followed stressed two things: the mutual relationship between the church and its college institution, and the consequent uniqueness of the college among educational institutions. It is fair to say that the college has become more church conscious, and that the church has become more college conscious.

Emphasis on Life in a Branch

The Latter Day Saint movement emphasized community life from the beginning. This was caught up in the program of gathering and building up a central community. The Reorganization renewed this emphasis as soon as it was deemed expedient. Due to several factors, the membership is still widely scattered. The statistician's report of 1940 showed an alarming number of members "living in an isolated condition and away from branch privileges." It has been estimated that a large number has been lost to the group through living away from congregational life.

A multiple attack on the problem has been made: (1) increase in circulation of church periodicals; (2) attendance of "scattered saints" at group gatherings; (3) enrollment of youth in the church college; (4) location of families with respect to participation in congregational life; (5) effective transfer of members from branch to branch through the general church office; and pastoral emphasis on reclamation. This involves a concern for developing a stimulating and appealing quality of congregational life. This found expression in the Youth Convention of 1941 with a program on "The Branch of Today and Tomorrow." This frankly raised the question of the place of the Latter Day Saint congregation in a changing society, set up norms for a healthy congregation, inquired about agencies that would bring these desirable qualities into realization, etc.

These recent developments have grown out of a realization that the group faces a changed social situation and that a program of education to be effective must read these changes and take them into consideration.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Educational Problems Before the Group

The existence of problems is not cause for consternation and confusion. They may be interpreted as opportunities for growth. Today the Latter Day Saints face questions most challenging. There is need for a working theory and program of education that will carry the church through these transitional days. Those who shape the course of the movement are called to formulate rather definitely just what they are aiming to do and how they are going to go about it. And this must be done with keen insight into the social relationships between the group and general society.

Dangers Before the Group

Out of the long story of groups with sociological similarity, certain dangers may be set forth, of which Latter Day Saints will do well to be aware.

1. A Straddle-the-Fence Theory. A group making continuous contacts with the out-group may evolve a kind of crazy-quilt thinking, with a bit of this and that without any central motif to hold it together. Such a hodge-podge points in no direction, elicits little loyalty, charts no program. There is difference between a theory with diverse aspects that are integrated into a workable program and one that brings together elements without coherence and unity.

2. An Exaltation of Institutionalism. Sects, as a rule, elevate experience above property, government, etc. There tends to come a day when the "church" takes precedence over the values and verities for which it stands. Conversation and testimonies come to say less of Christ and more of "the church." Loyalties are built around the institution with traditions, a history, a priesthood, etc. There is danger that bases of allegiance will center around the "Latter Day Saint" rather than around the "Jesus Christ" aspect of the church.

3. Ecclesiastical Control. The harmonizing of the theocratic and democratic aspects of church polity has never

been effected with clarity. The group might face two dangers here: undue swerving to either extreme. A centrally administered body is more inclined, however, toward the danger of priestly dominance over educational matters.

4. Loss of Creative Thinkers. A healthy group must cultivate and utilize its most capable personnel. There need be no legislative voice, no indictment to shut them out. A cool atmosphere can do the chilling. Men and women of original and critical bent can remain in the group, more or less inactive, or they may drift out into more congenial circles. The loss of these will gear the program and theology to a lower rank of educational mindedness. The reverse may be true: the underprivileged may be lost.

5. The Lack of Cultivation of Nonpriesthood Men. Many men of good quality are not ordained. In a church so priesthood minded, with education of the ordained men taking so large a place, the provision for the nonordained is no inconsequential concern.

6. Ambiguity in the Role of Women. Two strands of influence meet: the patriarchal with its secondary position of women, and the democratic with its insistence on equal status. The meeting of these two strands brings confusion as to the place of the women in the church program. The increase in the number of educated and professional women brings the question to the fore.

7. Disregard of the Nature of Human Nature. Here again the church stands between two extremes: a divorced-from-life-traditional-view of man and a taking up of every new psychological fad that seems to afford religious footing. The temptation to disregard the realities of human nature as found in flesh and blood persons has ever been with religion.

8. Loss of Conviction in Multiple Types of Experience. The member of a small group with a little world and more or less controlled contacts can be indoctrinated in the beliefs of the group without too much difficulty. When the radius of the educational world increases, there is danger of turning out unmoved and unmoving members. Some would respond by saying sure conviction flourishes when men do not know too much. The educator would say that with multiple experience this sureness comes more slowly, but with usability.

9. Misplacement of Emphasis. This is a danger faced by any movement. It is easy to lose the total picture and go off on some tangent. Perhaps an observer of the early Reorganization might have thought that its chief tenet was denunciation of polygamy.

10. Employment of Propaganda and Mass Controls. Hunger for immediate results could easily induce the members to discount the longer way of education for the course of propaganda with more immediate and observable returns. The way of education may seem too slow and expensive. Just now propaganda has world ascendancy. The Latter Day Saints with their centralized administration, use of the "gifts," and emphasis on fervent preaching could easily go in this direction.

Hostility Between Points of View

Leaders in a democratic society are not alarmed by the existence of diverse points of view, but they are concerned about the way these viewpoints get along together. Two extremes exist in the general field of religious education, and these are having considerable difficulty getting along together. The one is concerned with transmission of tenets and compliance with forms and programs. All this is done with authoritative sanction based on scripture, priesthood, or other recognized sovereignty. If this could be called the authoritarian approach, the other might be called the experimental. In the latter, tenets, rites, scriptures, etc., are secondary and are viewed as instrumental. Emphasis falls on experience and self-direction of it. Those who chart the educational course will inquire whether these two viewpoints need be hostile and exclusive of each other, whether there is a way for them to meet with mutually transforming power, with retention of advantages to both.

Formulation of a Theory of Religious Education

An educational theory may be thought of as a statement of what a group is seeking to do and how they are to go about it. An operative theory has to be near enough to practical situations of everyday life to make a difference in it. It has to begin with persons as they are while it is picturing where it wants to take them. A few years ago

religious education was a kind of special glorified general education. More and more leaders are seeing that it must have its rootings in sound theology and that the data of other fields must be baptized if they are to function religiously. The foundations must be broad and harmonious with the facts of modern discoveries. A Latter Day Saint theory of religious education should involve adequate conceptions in these areas.

1. The universe, how it operates, how man is functionally related to it, whither it is purposed.
2. The kind of society to be realized, into which the present order may be directed.
3. The original nature of man and of the processes by which this is developed for and into the personal relations in the social order held as desirable.
4. The role of the church in the process of religious development, its function, structure.
5. The process and instrumentation in which the spiritual powers inherent in the universe are contacted and appropriated in educational experience.
6. The nature and function of scriptures in the program of education, their origin and authority.
7. The techniques and means of spiritual fellowship and interaction in group life, including the family with criteria for wholesome social relationships.
8. The person and work of Christ in relation to individual and collective development toward the Christian norms of personality.
9. The means and methods of integrating the multiverse fields of life into a spiritual harmony with applied program for realization, with sound center of reference.
10. A conception of enlistment of persons in the fellowship of spiritual living and of commitment to its realization involving evangelism and church affiliation.

The Question of Indoctrination

Latter Day Saints cannot escape this question of indoctrination. It is in the air today. Roman Catholics have a very affirmative answer. Their idea, however, of the transmission of a completed faith with fixed and uniform content is hardly compatible with the Latter Day Saint tenet of

continuous revelation. Yet the group believes very surely that it has something that should be passed on to incomers.

It may clear the atmosphere to say that the question of indoctrination does not resolve itself into an either-or question. It does not mean that we have to choose between imposition of ideas and rules (with habit-forming pressures of an institution that is exempt from examination) and extreme liberalism that would have institutional life exert no pressures whatever. The question may be, then, not whether there shall be imposition but of what sort. There can hardly be education of the immature life without some form of indoctrination. This imposition can serve as a deadening, thwarting influence, or as a liberating agent.

At the present, then, the question is not whether there shall be any indoctrination in Latter Day Saint religious education; there will be. Children will be inclined toward the movement. Group loyalties will be fostered. The question is rather what shall be the beliefs held as fundamental, the quality of experience considered essential to group continuance, the methods of inculcation to be employed, the finality with which tenets are to be accepted, the participation of growing members who shall be fostered in re-evaluation of materials and formulation of plans of group life, etc. The wise teacher realizes that indoctrination is pretty serious business for its influences are never completely undone.

The Use of the Scriptures

Modern Latter Day Saints face questions about the scriptures. They come up unbidden as members make contact with contemporary science and philosophy. Especially do young people want a functional interpretation, a how-to-use approach. This holds for the *Book of Mormon* as well as for the Bible. From the beginning the group broke with conventional religionists on views toward the canon's completeness and finality. This prevented the building up of a dogmatic finality toward the Bible. Their attitude toward revelation, if consistent, admits that ancient scripture rose out of situations just as concrete as those which have called forth their own contemporary revelations. This factor together with the use of a version other than the King James and the emphasis of the personal experience of inspiration

in reading the scriptures should ease adjustment from Biblical dogmatism to historical interpretation and functional utilization as a resource for religious living. The question is pressing in steadily, but without creation of undue tension. The presence of diversity evidences a transitional condition. Any religious educator knows that the attitude toward and the approach to the Bible is a major determinant as to what kind of system will be produced.

The Conception of Man

Religions come out at far different ends, according to their conceptions of the man with which they are dealing. Doctrines of man's nature and destiny show great divergence. They range from making man a dichotomy with discount of the "flesh" as carnal to an elevation of the total man as essentially divine. Latter Day Saints began with no systematic formula of man's nature, but they came out with certain preachments that pointed in a definite direction. They denounced the doctrines of election and infant baptism and spoke of "agency" and "accountability." The chief statements rose out of conflict situations as they reacted to other groups. Much of this had to do with after-life implications. Debates with Adventists on "soul-sleeping" and with the Utah church on "eternal progression" and its implications are cases in point. Most of the materials were gathered from scriptural quotations, little from the data of biological and social sciences. From the range of Latter Day Saint writings and procedures the following may be presented as an elementary approach:

1. Physical well-being is included in a program of religious development. The "Word of Wisdom" breaks with doctrines of asceticism, although such is found among members.
2. The function of social interaction is recognized as inherent in religious growth. This is caught up in the program of the gathering and zionic community life.
3. The essentiality of training in deliberation is involved in the doctrine of accountability.
4. The Holy Spirit operates as a complementary factor in the experience of problem solving, co-operating with ordinary intelligence. Some conceptions define this as a spiritual force,

replacing normal processes, thus placing low estimate on human intelligence. The Latter Day Saints affirm otherwise.

5. The conditioning nature of the first years of life is recognized, as is shown by emphasis on family life of high religious quality.

6. The educational experience is a continuous process of a life-long nature, as is evidenced by provisions for adult study and ministerial training.

7. The conception of development through experience is hinted at in the story of the movement. It began with the inexperienced who learned through doing.

8. The dignity and worth of all human beings is presumed in the idea of universal evangelism.

The integration of many strands into a working conception of the nature of man is a problem of considerable magnitude Increasing contacts with existing educational theories, materials, and movements make the development of a clear idea of the nature of man more imperative.

Revelation and Education

The survey of Latter Day Saint youth indicates that they consider belief in present-day revelation most distinctive of their movement. It was so viewed in the earliest sectarian days. Today there is a kind of critical situation about this tenet of belief. There is a tendency for movements in their second century to draw up creeds about or to formalize the fresh experiences on which they had their rise. Thus the church's interest in revelation may become (1) asserting a belief about it, (2) recounting an historical experience of it, (3) transmitting a printed form of it, or (4) cultivating continued experience of it. In other words it may be viewed as a dogma, a completed historical phenomenon, a transmissive system, or a contemporary process. It is fair to say that the Reorganization has held to the last of these views more than has its competing Mormon group in Utah.

There is urgent need for the interpretation of the nature of revelation so that it will fit into a theory of educational experience. The functional rather than the polemical presentation is called for. These aspects are involved: (1) the way the process of revelation is inherent in the universe; (2) the conditions of receptivity; (3) the role of personal

development and effort; (4) the areas of life involved; (5) criteria of evaluation; (6) its relative vs. its absolute nature; and (7) gradation of instruction concerning its nature and function.

The Cultivation of Group Consensus

In the early days of the Reorganization, the small size of the group and the intimate relations of leaders with laity made the achievement of group consensus quite possible. Common experiences of hostility to "Gentiles" and "Mormons," common traditions, common reading of limited church literature provided means. The scattered condition was the chief drawback. A sectarian soul developed.

Today consensus does not rise as simply. The General Conference held in a hall in Amboy was quite different from that in the Independence Auditorium with a seating capacity of 7,000. A group exists not by interaction, but *in* interaction. This means that even an enlarged body must have some form of inter-association out of which a kind of unity of feeling and thinking can emerge. And how is this to be achieved? Here is a basic consideration: Shall the group look toward a unity through allegiance to an external or authoritarian power as in the Roman Catholic communion, or toward one through free intercourse of persons and subgroupings? Or, is there a combination?

If the church is to expect a consensus arrived at through democratic interaction, then the educational leaders must make it central in their educational goals and develop qualifications and procedures for its development. This involves the development of techniques for group discussion, the organization of groups that permit primary relationships, and a meeting of subgroups for a general consensus. The very program of building zionic communities involves the cultivation of co-operative thinking.

The Church and the Public School

Latter Day Saints have no formulated statement about the relationship that should exist between the church and the public school. To date, the thinking has been that of separateness. This would be the natural position of a minority group widely scattered, with few sizable congrega-

tions. A conflict group is safer under such an arrangement. But Latter Day Saints look toward the building of communities with those of the faith in the majority. No program of education for such a gathering has been worked out. Four main possibilities appear: (1) the establishment of parochial schools, which seems unlikely; (2) the maintenance of church supported schools alongside the public school and co-operating with that school, for religious instruction; (3) the inclusion of specific Latter Day Saint materials as electives in the common schools, and (4) the maintenance of two separated unrelated systems as at present. This involves programs for adult education. There is indication that Latter Day Saint communities are beginning to take shape in which a working conception is needed. Without it the group may drift along and lose their opportunity for experimentation.

The Needs in Higher Education

Young Latter Day Saints are going to colleges and universities in ever-increasing numbers. This is part of the changed relationship of the group to their social world. It is included in the building of a program of religious education for this new situation, a program of religious education that will carry through high school and college life into adulthood. The report of the President of the church to the last General Conference recognized the casualties that take place in the field of higher education. Statisics are not complete for making an adequate diagnosis, but these factors are included in reasons for losses: An inadequate theology for growing educational experience, unsatisfying church comradeships, and lack of utilization of the college trained. The following procedures have been suggested:

1. Provision of church social and religious centers at college campuses where numbers of Latter Day Saints are enrolled.
2. Publication of textbooks dealing with Latter Day Saint theology, history, and program on the college level.
3. Assignment of religious leaders qualified to minister to college students as advisors, consultants, instructors.
4. Development of counseling services and some placement bureau for helping college graduates to locate in communities in which they might live among those of their own faith.

5. Reorganization of branch programs for utilizing college-trained men and women, and servicing them in group activities suited to their cultural backgrounds.

6. Installation of seminars, conferences, etc., geared to the college mind, for discussing and intepreting the Latter Day Saint religion.

7. Appointment of a director of a college division in the department of religious education.

8. Designation of a patriarchal minister for servicing college students through correspondence.

9. Organization of specialists into groups for research in the zionic program.

10. Inclusion of one or more of the aforementioned possibilities in the alumni services of Graceland College.

A comprehensive survey is needed that will cover such items as these: (1) the college population with respect to numbers, residence, areas of study, (2) the types of meetings and ministries now offered to students in college, (3) the interests and wants of college students, (4) the evaluation of earlier religious instruction; and (5) the available educational leadership for servicing college students. The future of the church is affected in very definite ways by what happens to young Latter Day Saints during their campus life and in the period immediately following.

The Function of Graceland College

This function can no longer be assumed. There must be some clear thinking as to why the group should maintain an institution of higher learning. Certainly there has been a shift in thinking since the days of the establishment of Graceland. The president of the church spoke then as if it were desirable to have a college that youth of the church might attend without contact with sectarian influences. So this college was to be "nonsectarian" and those words were inscribed on the cornerstone. Today the intent seems to be not so much to get them away from other churches, but to keep youth in their own. There is no doubt that the institution has cultivated more and more a Latter Day Saint flavor while it has maintained its "nonsectarian" aspect by making all religious services and instruction operate under the principle of voluntarism. The college itself seems to be going through a transitional period and is attempting to

some degree to discover its aims and objectives. The outcome depends upon four major factors: (1) the general group mind of the church; (2) the attitude and policy of church leaders; (3) the creative work of the college administration; and (4) conditions in the educational and social world at large. There is the general feeling that unless the college or any other institution gives service for the enrichment of life of the group, there is little or no use of maintaining it or them.

The Department of Religious Education

This department of the general church and of the local congregation is itself a product of a changed relationship with society. It came along with the growth of the religious education movement and has experienced the ups and downs of that larger development. The functions and status have never been too clear. The trend seems to be from the Sunday school to the church school and then to the branch functioning educationally. This comes to interpret the religious educator not so much as an administrator as an advisor. There is ambiguity about the functions as well as about the theory that is to undergird their work. This is not to be interpreted as unhealthy, but as an invitation to continued study of the field.

Accommodation Without Assimilation or Conflict

This study has interpreted Latter Day Saintism as falling into a transitional period in its adjustment to its surrounding world. The easiest way to manitain a certain kind of identity would be to keep alive a conflict attitude and maintain a pressure from the outside. The easiest way to get along would be to drift back into the social order without assertion of features that make for distinctiveness. Times have changed too much both within and without the group to make the first wanted or likely. There is too much will to live and there are too many unassimilable features about the group to permit them to lose their identity. Here, then, is a movement that must walk the line between the extremes of conflict and assimilation. To maintain amicable and even co-operative relations without losing the solidarity and conviction that give vitality and to maintain integrity is a problem of no small concern and importance. Latter Day Saints must both *see* it and *solve* it.

CHAPTER TWELVE

Educational Prospects

Latter Day Saints are not the only group that have gone through this conflict to accommodation experience. The Waldenses, the Lollards, the Anabaptists and similar groups knew the full force of hostility of those who moved in the name of the Lord. Each spoke out against the world of the day. For the larger part, these sects came to some form of accommodated relationship with the world out of which they emerged. Some continued; others did not.

Sects will continue in the social order. Individuals and groups at variance with things as they are will break away and rise as prophets of a new and true order of things. Only in a society anemic and apathetic will conflict phenomena disappear. This need not be interpreted as meaning a kind of inevitability for dissension and disunity. Rather does it call for an intelligent conception of the conflict group and of its treatment. Only thus can possible advantages be utilized for enriching and enlivening the total social life without the losses and pains incident to open antagonism. Only then can conflict be creative. To disagree individually and collectively without violence and malice is an achievement yet to be realized. This awareness can help Latter Day Saints to understand new movements that spring up in the social order and even within their own ranks. It can enable them to interpret the part they will play in society. It is necessary that they see how they are to function as a minority group in the contemporary order of things.

Generalizations About Accommodation

The experiences of the Reorganization illustrate what may be set forth as generalizations about this accommodation process in so far as this group involves elements common to other bodies.

1. Accommodation may be delayed by the rise of new

situations which involve additional sectarian emphases. The group itself may generate these situations.

2. Inside conflict tends to mitigate the antithetical attitude toward the outside world. A divided house cannot speak with telling forcefulness. It is possible that while the group is engaged in matters of in-group concern, a slow process to the out-group may be going on.

3. The process of accommodation cannot be speeded up beyond a certain tempo.

4. There is increased emphasis upon religious education as a movement gets farther from the initial experiences that gave rise to the sectarian expression. Increased contact of members with nonbelievers increases the necessity for such training.

5. With freer association with the out-group, and awareness of need for an adequate program of membership development, come the beginnings of a theory of religious education. When this matter can be approached objectively, the group can hardly be considered a sect.

6. The growth of a program of religious education brings strains within the group, as patterns of thinking about education and religion meet.

7. The development of educational theory in the sect entails questions of authority. The elements of the first freshness of revelation come to be checked in the light of data of human experience.

8. The accommodated sect reconsiders its role in the total social order with a sense of responsibility to, rather than rejection of.

9. The growing sectarian group experiences an increasing heterogeneity in culture and thought patterns.

10. The group that moves from conflict to accommodation relationships must develop inner bonds and bases of loyalty and cultivate distinctive functions if it is to continue.

The Reorganization and Its Distinctiveness

Educators must discover the distinctive features of the group that are considered worthy of and essential for cultivation. This problem must be considered in terms of the environing thought world. There is a feeling on the part of many discriminating members that the group possesses

fewer distinctive features than in former years. This is not meant to suggest that this body of Latter Day Saints believe they have surrendered anything, but that others have taken up some of the elements they formerly held as their own. Such ideas as "tithing," "revelation," "stewardship," "group salvation," "divine healing," denunciation of the doctrine of "original sin" are quite common today as compared with the times of the rise of the movement. There has been a little development of the idea that a spiritual nucleus is to pour its influence into the religious world whether or not the source of the influence is recognized. This change of attitude is significant. In place of hostility there is a sense of service to the larger group with a willingness to contribute anonymously.

If, in the shifting of religious beliefs and practices there are left to this school of Latter Day Saints fewer distinctive features, then three courses are open if the Reorganization is to retain and sense any uniqueness: (1) It can give additional emphasis to the remaining identifying characteristics; (2) It can develop additional ones; or (3) It can combine its several elements, some of which are scattered through several movements, into a totality with an integrating prophetic spirit. The first of these would call for a fine discernment of the essential elements to be emphasized. The second would call for a prophetic leadership that could read the times and pioneer in ways not yet traversed by conventional religious movements or by the Latter Day Saints themselves. The third would demand inspired leaders who could unify without stultifying, spiritualize without conventionalizing, and motivate without resorting to fear or animosity. Perhaps, the healthiest procedure would be a combination of all three.

In this transitional stage of the educational life of the Reorganization, those who prepare teaching materials face a fairly difficult situation. They must speak to extreme camps and intermediate positions. These courses are open: (1) They may say "this is it" and back this up with the authority of inherited dogma or administrative office; (2) They may skirt evasively through issues, giving counsel in terms that are ambiguous and trite; or (3) they may present common problems without giving fixed solution, with the expectation that group or individual decision be made in accordance with accepted principles. In

all this there must be caution against use of inherited phrases with an emotional glow about them, but with little meaningful content. It is easy for a group to do so.

A Theological Basis for Education

A sound system of religious education must be rooted deep in the spiritual foundations of the universe itself. With this goes an understanding of the way man can tap the spiritual resources inherent in his universe for personal and social living. Latter Day Saints must interpret how this is to be done through their church. A theology for them must fall in line with historical Latter Day Saintism and accord with its genius, but it must also square with the growing body of verifiable data about man and his environment. A usable theology must be phrased in terminology that carries meaning in contemporary thought patterns. It seeks to interpret in a systemic and coherent scheme those phases of belief which are functional in a given cultural situation. Thus to affirm that one believes in "revelation" is not enough: one must also say what such belief means in current language and life.

An effective religious educator must have a broader foundation than acquaintance with a given text or skill in a certain method. An instructor may lead a class in review of scriptural quotations without such basic understanding, but an educator cannot outline plans and policies without it. Just now a consistent, coherent theology is needed for the workers in religious education. This must be seen and shared by leaders and diffused throughout the body.

The standard Latter Day Saint literature nearest contemporary life is the *Doctrine and Covenants.* It should be most utilizable in shaping up an acceptable statement. A summary such as the following would serve as a starting point. The divisions are not those of a traditional system but from studies concerning postulates for religious education. Included are such items as concern man's living together in spiritual relations in his universe-wide and eternity-long environment.

1. The Universe.
   a. The eternality of the elements *(Doctrine and Covenants* 90:5).
   b. The universality of law *(Doctrine and Covenants* 85: 8, 9).
   c. The operation of creative processes through the action

of divine intelligence in the elements *(Doctrine and Covenants* 85:3).

d. The continuously creative work of God *(Doctrine and Covenants* 22:23).

e. The eternal development of man, the purpose of the universe *(Doctrine and Covenants* 22:23).

2. Nature of Man.

a. The infinite worth and immortality of man *(Doctrine Covenants* 90:4).

b. The nonmoral nature of man at birth *(Doctrine and Covenants* 28:13).

c. Inherent agency and accountability of man *(Doctrine and Covenants* 101:20).

d. Essentiality of complementary development of the physical and spiritual aspects of man's nature *(Doctrine and Covenants* 90:5; 85:4).

e. Necessity of religious nurture and educational direction *(Doctrine and Covenants* 68:4).

f. The influence of social relationships on man's character with implication of the necessity of a spiritually wholesome milieu *(Doctrine and Covenants* 81: 4).

g. The indispensable functioning of the Holy Spirit for man's highest development and enlightenment *(Doctrine and Covenants* 10:6, 7).

h. Adjudgment of man's achievement and his status with God conditional upon the total pattern of man's character.

3. Society and Social Interaction.

a. Man, a product of social interaction as is involved in the program of zionic relationships.

b. Social conflict between forces making for man's uplift and for his deterioration *(Doctrine and Covenants* 1).

c. Institution of godly government for common welfare; general responsibility for maintenance *(Doctrine and Covenants* 112:1, 2).

d. Separateness of ecclesiastical and civil functions *(Doctrine and Covenants* 112: 4, 9).

e. Employment of peaceful settlement of social strains; resort to war as extremity *(Doctrine and Covenants* 95: 6).

f. Function of the nucleus for social advancement and amelioration *(Doctrine and Covenants* 64:8).

g. Elevation of permanent social values in social relationships *(Doctrine and Covenants* 10:12).

4. The Church.
   a. Origin and maintenance through processes of revelation *(Doctrine and Covenants* 17:1-6).
   b. The sacramental functioning of the priesthood *(Doctrine and Covenants* 104).
   c. An agency for universal evangelism *(Doctrine and Covenants* 14).
   d. A fellowship for democratic development *(Doctrine and Covenants* 52:4).
   e. A selected nucleus for zionic experimentation *(Doctrine and Covenants* 42:21).
   f. Entrance into the corporate body through voluntary affiliation *(Doctrine and Covenants* 17:20, 21).

5. The Person and Work of Christ.
   a. Centrality of Christ in the original experiences of the movement, as suggested in the message, "This is my Beloved Son: Hear ye him."
   b. Normative function of the life and teachings of Jesus Christ in Christian ethics *(Doctrine and Covenants* 45: 1; 46:9).
   c. Essentuality for believers of the sacrificial Christlike life of service *(Doctrine and Covenant* 33).
   d. The revelation of the divine nature in the person of Christ *(Doctrine and Covenants* 17:5).
   e. The expression of the second coming in connection with the collective revelation through the zionic community *(Doctrine and Covenant* 33).

6. The Function of Inspiration.
   a. Operation in problem-solving *(Doctrine and Covenants* 9:3).
   b. Contingency upon faith and fitness *(Doctrine and Covenants* 44:2).
   c. The conditioning role of experience and capacity *(Doctrine and Covenants* 38:7).
   d. Diversity of experience of inspiration, according to the person *(Doctrine and Covenants* 46:5).
   e. Deliberative consideration of materials presented as inspired *(Doctrine and Covenants* 108A).

f. Organic operation in the body ecclesiastic through the prophet-president and officials of assigned areas *(Doctrine and Covenants* 104:42).

7. The Scriptures.
   a. A repository of the principles of the gospel *(Doctrine and Covenants* 42:5).
   b. The continuous and contemporaneous nature of inspired materials for scriptures: the open canon *(Doctrine and Covenants* 34:5; 68:1).
   c. Necessity of adequate translation of scriptures for discovery of original meanings *(Doctrine and Covenants* 90:12).
   d. Government of the church according to scriptural norms. *(Doctrine and Covenants* 42:16).

8. Integration of Life.
   a. Enjoinment of study of all phases of reality *(Doctrine and Covenants* 85:21).
   b. Pervasive "light," involving purpose and order throughout the universe *(Doctrine and Covenants* 85:3).
   c. Intended utilization of all the earth to spiritual ends: its ultimate spiritualization *(Doctrine and Covenants* 85:6).
   d. Employment of both emotional and intellectual approaches to reality *(Doctrine and Covenants* 85:6).
   e. Recognition of a Christian center of reference for all areas of life.

9. The Social Program.
   a. The establishment of a geographical center place, Independence, Missouri *(Doctrine and Covenants* 83:2).
   b. Specialization of function with sense of stewardship for contribution to group life *(Doctrine and Covenants* 70).
   c. Attitude of and technique for reconciliation and resolution of tension *(Doctrine and Covenants* 42:23).
   d. Mutual instruction, counsel, and support *(Doctrine and Covenants* 83:3).
   e. Maintenance of selectivity in the social nucleus through cultivation of requisite qualities for participants *(Doctrine and Covenants* 75:5; 82:4; 94:5) and through elimination of the undesirable and nonco-operative, *e. g.* 81:5.

f. Exploration procedure with search for divine direction in problematical situations *(Doctrine and Covenants* 80:17; 85:16).

10. Enlistment and commitment.
   a. Voluntary affiliation with the church group *(Doctrine and Covenants* 17:20).
   b. Evangelistic concern for enlisting others in the Christian life *(Doctrine and Covenants* 14:85; 22).
   c. Covenanting through the rite of baptism with continuous rededication through the sacrament of the Lord's Supper *(Doctrine and Covenants* 17:21-23).
   d. Vitalization through association with fellow believers with unifying spiritual endowment *(Doctrine and Covenants* 45:12, 13).
   e. Inclusion of children as members of the community, prior to baptism, with presentation by the rite of blessing by ministers *(Doctrine and Covenants* 17:19).
   f. Enjoinment of continuous qualifying for effective participation in group life *(Doctrine and Covenants* 85: 21).

The Development of Inner Bonds

The question, "What holds Latter Day Saints to their group?" has great importance for the future. With decline in sectarian hostility, the force of external compulsion has diminished. In the new day the externally compelling bonds rising out of persecution, world denunciation, etc., have to be replaced by the development of intra-group forces with conviction and loyalty rising out of satisfying group experience. There will have to be involved the attitude that within the fellowship can be found something uniquely satisfying and functionally important, something that cannot be duplicated elsewhere. If there is to be vitality in the movement, this must be found in current experience not in a review of a dramatic past.

The Reorganization in its present stage of social relationships might look toward the following fields of experience as potential of cultivation of group loyalty.

1. Worship employing symbols and scriptures of the group in ways meaningful in current life; enrichment of devotional experience with effective utilization of the group's heritage.

2. Participation in common projects under the leadership of

a pastoral administration that aims to cultivate a sense of "belonging to."

3. Continuous reinterpretation of the group's theology, enabling the harmonious bringing together of an inherited pattern and contemporary thought patterns.

4. Development of techniques for and disposition toward arriving at consensus in policies and procedures; the emergence of an effective group mind through adequate association of persons and groups.

5. Integration of departments and territories of the group through use of press, radio, and other modern devices of communication, and through continuous movement of leaders of the general church among the people.

6. Analysis of the enduring qualities of the group and utilization of these in interpreting the group's world mission as a nucleus; discrimination between fundamental and secondary elements.

7. Concern for and development of prophetic leadership that will chart the group's course in terms of accommodated mission, and will stimulate and challenge to its accomplishment.

8. Achievements in such specific social experimentation, financial solvency, evangelistic enterprise, as will give the sense of accomplishment.

9. Growth of insights of problem-solving revelation such as carry forward the group tradition and enlarge its world of meanings.

10. Cultivation of the mystical qualities of the movement in both individual and group aspects, providing the sense of warmth, immediacy, and reality of communion with divine forces, together with their refinement and direction through evaluating analysis.

Possibilities Before the Group

The next years carry diverse possibilities for religious education. This small group can carry on experimentation of significance as suggested by Rufus Jones in his interpretation of the "remnant." Or it may just carry on and produce little of consequence. There is a struggle going on between authoritarian and socially developed conceptions of religious education. This group with its democratic-theocratic type of administration might discover some means of resolution of the problem. The clash between ideas of revelation that make it, on one hand, so fixed and final that it is limiting and, on the other hand, so general

that it impresses the ordinary person as being without content and compulsion, might receive some help for solution in the reconsidered meanings of the process of inspiration in its relation to education. The attempts at community building in the program of the gathering may be able to contribute something in the search for the functional church in the modern community and for the adequate program of religious education in such a community-church relationship. The growing idea of religious life enveloping all phases with a spiritual motive, integrating them all into a unity might find experimentation in the zionic endeavors. The search for a continuous program of religious development from infancy through childhood, youth, middle age, on to full maturity might discover some theoretical guidance and some concretions in this church's attempts to build a program that includes all ages in a continuing fellowship. There may be some light thrown upon the question of the desirability and the functioning of the social remnant in the social order. The group might demonstrate how a sect can lose its conflict relationships without forfeiting its vitality.

And yet, nothing may come of it all. The group may fall into the course of least resistance, succumb to one or more of the dangers listed in the preceding section, and contribute little or nothing to the development of religious education. If so, it will merely complete a familiar cycle of rising as a small conflict group, of making a transition into accommodation relations, developing a program of education for self-maintenance alone, and of receiving a conventional assignment in the roster of American religious bodies.

The answer lies to a large extent with the possibility of developing a spiritually developed, social sensitive, and soundly trained leadership who can and will chart the way. These must rise above personalities, political procedures, and private considerations to the level of policies and principles for the larger good. They must be known as sincere in their beliefs, companionable in their religious fellowship, participative in group life, efficient in their educational pursuits, and *en rapport* with the sustaining divinity that undergirds whatever good there is in the movement. They must discern the relationship of Latter Day Saints to their world and assist to give direction to future interaction. In terms of Latter Day Saint literature, they must be able to "seek learning by study and by faith."

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